Pam
Misc
(11x23)

United States National Commission *for* UNESCO

REPORT ON THE FIRST MEETING SEPTEMBER 1946

United States—United Nations Information Series 14

UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION

FOR THE

United Nations

Educational, Scientific

and

Cultural Organization

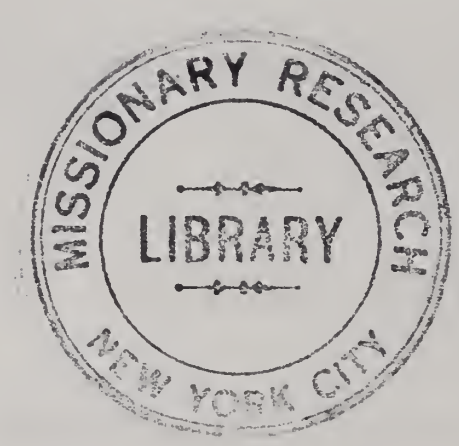
Report on the First Meeting, September 1946

United States—United Nations Information Series 14

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Publication 2726

United States—United Nations Information Series 14



JAN 8 1948

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1947

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. - - - - - - - - Price 25 cents

Contents

PAGE

REPORT 1

APPENDICES 11

1. Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation 11
2. Joint Resolution Providing for U.S. Membership in UNESCO 16
3. Officers and Members of the Executive Committee of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO . . . 18
4. Members of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO . 19
5. Bylaws of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO . 21
6. The National Commission—An Opportunity for Leadership, by William Benton 25
7. UNESCO to Date, by Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer . . 29
8. How Can Our Government's Program Support UNESCO? by William T. Stone 32
9. Resolution Adopted by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO 35
10. Report of the Executive Committee of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO 35
11. Report of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO . 37

UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION
for the
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

REPORT ON THE FIRST MEETING

Background

On July 30, 1946 President Truman signed Public Law 565 authorizing the United States to accept membership in UNESCO. On that occasion the President said:

"UNESCO will summon to service in the cause of peace the forces of education, science, learning, the creative arts, and the agencies of the film, the radio and the printed word through which knowledge and ideas are diffused among mankind.

"The Government of the United States will work with and through UNESCO to the end that the minds of all people may be freed from ignorance, prejudice, suspicion, and fear, and that men may be educated for justice, liberty, and peace. If peace is to endure, education must establish the moral unity of mankind."

The attempt to establish a workable system of international organization for peace depends for its ultimate success on the support of an informed public opinion throughout the world. This is true of the United Nations and all its specialized agencies, but it is true in a unique sense of UNESCO.

It is UNESCO's province to help develop basic cooperative attitudes and mutual understanding which will animate the quest for peace. In the words of its Constitution:

"The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations."

The measure of UNESCO's success will be found not so much in agreements reached among governments as in a fundamental sympathy and sense of community and insight growing among countless individuals.

Clearly, the contribution to this end, which can be made by the new international organization and the governments associated with it, will be vastly increased if organized non-governmental groups take an active part in the work of UNESCO. It was in recognition of the vital role of non-governmental groups that the Constitution of UNESCO includes the following provisions:

"1. Each Member State shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions for the purpose of associating its principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with the work of the Organization, preferably by the formation of a National Commission broadly representative of the Government and such bodies.

"2. National Commissions or national co-operating bodies, where they exist, shall act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organization and shall function as agencies of liaison in all matters of interest to it.

"3. The Organization may, on the request of a Member State, delegate, either temporarily or permanently, a member of its Secretariat to serve on the National Commission of that State, in order to assist in the development of its work."

Congress recognized the importance of this provision of UNESCO's Constitution. The longest section of Public Law 565 deals with the establishment of a National Commission, and the method of establishing the Commission was the only controversial item in the bill.

The Department of State recommended that the U. S. National Commission be small enough for its entire membership to serve as a consultative body; further, it recommended that the National Commission consist of individuals to be selected by the Secretary of State, in order to insure the formation of a widely representative body without the express inclusion (and consequent exclusion) of particular organizations. An opposing view was strongly urged: that the Commission should give direct representation to organizations, and should be large enough to permit the inclusion of many organizations.

The structure of the National Commission, as finally prescribed by Congress, represents a compromise between these views: Section 3 of the Joint Resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States authorized the creation of a National Commission on Education, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation of not to exceed 100 members, consisting of two main categories. First, not more than 60 members were to be representatives of principal national voluntary organizations interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters; secondly, there were to be not more than 40 additional outstanding persons, including not more than 10 persons working under or employed by the Government of the United States, not more than 15 representatives of the educational, scientific, and cultural interests of State and local governments, and not more than 15 persons chosen at large.

In the appointment of the second category of the United States Commission members indicated above, the Department of State exercises discretionary authority within the Federal, State and local, and general categories. In the first category the following procedure of selection is specified in the law. First, the Department must name 50 organizations from among the "principal national voluntary organizations interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters". Secondly, the Department invites each of these organizations to designate one representative for appointment to the National Commission. Thirdly, the National Commission itself may select an additional 10 organizations which in turn may designate representatives for appointment to the Commission. Fourthly, the National Commission itself is directed to review periodically the list of organizations and, if deemed advisable, revise the list in order to achieve desirable rotation among the organizations represented thereon.

In accordance with the terms of the law the Secretary of State on August 15, 1946 invited 50 national organizations to nominate members to the National Commission, and later named 40 additional persons as members of the Commission.[1] These announcements followed months of painstaking analysis and consultation with experts in the substantive fields of UNESCO—education, natural science, social science, arts and humanities, and the media of mass communication.

When the selection of organizations and individuals was determined, every effort was made to secure adequate representation of all the fields involved in UNESCO's wide variety of interests, including broad population groups and wide associations as well as those specialized bodies devoted to education, science, culture, and mass communication. The following criteria were used as a basis for the final choice in the case of organizations:

Organizations selected should be

- national;
- recognized generally in their irrespective fields as being representative and reputable;
- known to be effectively concerned with international relations in their respective fields, as indicated by history and practice;
- competent to make valuable contributions to the work of the National Commission.

While every effort was made to assure reasonable balance, the chief goal, rather than absolute equality of numbers among interested groups, was to assure that the membership of the National Commission would offer adequate facilities through which each of these particular groups

[1] See Appendix 4, List of Members.

might cooperate and make its contribution to UNESCO.

The law provides that to constitute the initial Commission one third of the members shall be appointed to serve for a one-year term, one third for a two-year term, and the remainder for three years. Thereafter all members are to be appointed for three-year terms, but no member shall serve more than two consecutive terms. Thus desirable rotation is further encouraged.

Members of the National Commission will not be paid for their services. Their transportation and living expenses will be paid by the Department of State while they are serving in a consultative capacity. The Department will also provide the necessary secretariat for the National Commission. The Commission is required to meet at least once annually. The law also assigns to the Commission one important function in addition to those which belong to it under the UNESCO Constitution. In the United States the National Commission is directed to call conferences for the discussion of matters relating to UNESCO. The Commission will invite all interested organized bodies to participate in large annual or biennial general conferences as the National Commission deems wise. Smaller conferences of experts for the consideration of specific matters relating to UNESCO are also authorized. In this manner the most effective possible means of liaison is provided for which will also allow for direct participation in the work of the UNESCO program by all interested organizations in addition to those which may at the time hold membership on the National Commission.

Goals of the First Meeting of the National Commission

Authority to create the National Commission was given on July 30, 1946. On Septmber 23 the first meeting of the National Commission was in session. It was thought important that the Commission convene before the first meeting of the General Conference of UNESCO, in order that it might take part in the first stages of UNESCO's work.

In preparation for the first meeting the Department of State invited members of the Commission residing in or near Washington to constitute themselves into a Preparatory Committee. The Preparatory Committee held two meetings, one on September 9 and another on September 18, 1946. A temporary chairman was elected and the work of the preparatory group was subdivided into preparation of an agenda for the first meeting, establishment of a working committee structure for the first meeting, and preparation of bylaws. A subcommittee was named which formulated a draft of bylaws to be submitted to the Commission as a whole.

In spite of the very short notice given to members of the National Commission of their appointment and of the first meeting, 68 members were present in the International Conference Room of the Department of State when the temporary chairman, Ben Cherrington, opened the first session on September 23 at 10 a.m.

The sessions continued through Thursday, September 26. The National Commission was, as William Benton, Assistant Secretary of State, said in his welcoming address, an unprecedented body, and a body without precedent. "Here you are," said Mr. Benton, "a national conference, but meeting in the International Conference Room of the Department of State. You are made up in considerable part of representatives of national voluntary organizations and yet you are created by the will of Congress and appointed by the Department of State. You give for the first time in our history a collective brain to the whole nervous system of American culture, science, education, and means of communication. Everything that you may now do will establish a precedent. You will have the opportunity to insure that this Commission makes a distinctive place for itself in American life and in world culture. This is an unprecedented opportunity."

The Assistant Secretary called attention to the dangers and pitfalls as well as to the opportunities that lay before the Commission. He referred to the danger that the many represented groups, so diverse in their dominant interests, might fail to find a true unity of thought and purpose:

"How well you succeed in this leadership depends in part on whether you can avoid another pitfall—let us call it the danger of log-rolling by vested interests. More than half of you have been nominated by a private organization. All of you have some special area of competence close to your heart. Thus your vision may be limited by loyalty to your own organization or to your special field. In fact, it is sure to be.

"The round tables or sections that have been scheduled for your meetings here illustrate this

point. Similarly, the organizational structure that has been proposed for UNESCO itself, with similar sections—natural science, education, fine arts, mass media, and the rest—may have an unfortunate divisive effect. In fact, they are sure to prove divisive. The idea now seems to be that these various sections will put their parts together to make a program.

"My point is that UNESCO can't do *everything*, or a little bit of everything. Its leaders should work out a list of priorities, and instead of allocating a small part of the UNESCO budget to each of an infinite variety of activities, they should concentrate UNESCO funds and energies in the fields where UNESCO has the greatest chance of making its greatest impact—and soon. Log-rolling between vested interests is not conducive to this objective. The university administrators who are in this room will, I am sure, agree with me.

"UNESCO has not been set up only to give us more specialized knowledge. Its job is to put knowledge to work all over the world, in the interests of the masses of the people of the world and in the cause of human welfare and peace.

"Thus you should not create committees exclusively of experts. Let us encourage the educators to face up to the opportunities in broadcasting. Let us encourage the broadcasters to face up to their obligations in the field of adult education. Cross fertilization is the intellectual need of the hour.

"Further, those of you who have been nominated by national organizations should bear in mind that you have been appointed as individuals to be members of this National Commission. There are hundreds of other organizations, though perhaps not so luminous, which are just as much concerned with UNESCO as your own; and you as individuals must represent them all. You have a responsibility to all the people and not merely to your organization. I hope this sense of general responsibility will be kept at a high pitch."

In the short space of four days, the Commission developed into a cohesive body organized for action and unified in purpose. Commenting on the singleness of purpose achieved by the National Commission, the Honorable Archibald MacLeish stated before the assembly: "Nothing has been more extraordinary in these meetings than the agreement among men and women of all disciplines and of varying points of view as to the nature of UNESCO's task. . . . The National Commission has provided for the first time a national focus for the arts and sciences and for the disciplines of education in American life —a great awakening has taken place."

Three main tasks had to be performed. First, the members of the Commission had to inform themselves about the functions of UNESCO and responsibilities toward it. The staff of the Department of State had assembled basic documents of UNESCO. Speeches by Dr. Esther C. Brunauer, U.S. Representative on the Preparatory Commission, and by William T. Stone, Director of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, gave further clarification. Reports prepared by advisory groups, such as the Department of State's Consultative Committee on the Mass Media and UNESCO, gave additional background.

Secondly, the Commission had to establish its own organization. This necessarily constituted a considerable part of the agenda.

Thirdly, the Commission had to tender its advice to the Department of State on two important matters: (*a*) the selection of the American Delegation to the first meeting of the General Conference; (*b*) the scope and content of the program of UNESCO.

The Organization of the National Commission

At the opening session, members of the Commission were introduced, and lots were drawn to determine their terms of membership. The chairman of the Preparatory Committee submitted the provisional agenda and bylaws, requested nominations in writing for 10 additional organizations, and announced the schedule of round tables and temporary committees.

A second plenary session was devoted to general discussion of the primary purposes of UNESCO. Committees on nominations, bylaws, and findings and reports were selected from among the membership to provide final recommendations in these fields to the Commission itself. The membership was further subdivided among working round tables on education, mass communications, cultural institutions, natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, and creative arts. These Committees were to consider a program of activities for UNESCO which had been prepared by the Pre-

paratory Commission of the Organization as the chief order of business at the Paris Conference.

At the third plenary session, the committee on bylaws submitted a draft of permanent bylaws, thus eliminating the necessity for an intermediate consideration and vote on provisional bylaws; and the election of officers and members of the Executive Committee took place.

The bylaws as adopted provide that the Commission should be known as the "United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization".[2] They define the objects of the National Commission as:

(*a*) to advise the Government of the United States in matters relating to UNESCO and in all matters referred to the Commission by the Secretary of State;

(*b*) to act in a consultative capacity with regard to the appointment of the United States delegates to the General Conferences of UNESCO;

(*c*) to advise with the delegations of the United States to the General Conferences of UNESCO with regard to the activities of the latter;

(*d*) to serve as an agency of liaison with organizations, institutions, and individuals in the United States which are interested in matters relating to the activities of UNESCO;

(*e*) to promote an understanding of the general objectives of UNESCO on the part of the people of the United States.

Membership is outlined in accordance with the terms of Public Law 565. A chairman and three vice-chairmen are provided for, to be elected in the annual meeting of the National Commission and to serve from the end of the meeting at which they are elected until the next succeeding annual meeting or until the election of their successors. A limitation of three years is placed upon the service of any one person either as chairman or vice-chairman.

The bylaws also provide for an Executive Committee of 15 members in addition to chairman and vice-chairman, to be elected annually by the National Commission in such manner as broadly to represent the interests of the whole group. The Executive Committee is authorized to manage the affairs of the Commission and to act for it in all matters between its meetings subject to the instruction of the National Commission. The Commission may create committees to deal with its interests on recommendation by the Executive Committee. A committee on nominations is to be appointed annually by the Executive Committee to prepare nominations, which may be supplemented from the floor, for each annual meeting of the National Commission.

The Commission is to meet annually, and other meetings may be called by the Executive Committee, the Department of State, or on the request of 35 members. Meetings may be held from time to time in different regions of the United States; representation for members by proxy or alternate is specifically excluded. It was declared that the objective should be that all sessions of the National Commission should be open to the public.

In accordance with provisions of section 5 of Public Law 565, annual or biennial general conferences of the National Commission were provided for to discuss matters relating to the activities of UNESCO. Such conferences are to include not only members of the National Commission and delegates of the United States to the General Conference of UNESCO but also such organizations in the country as are actively concerned with the activities of UNESCO. Provision was made for the preparation of full reports on the conduct of the National Commission and for the provision by the Department of State of the necessary secretariat on the request of the Executive Committee.

At the final plenary session of the Commission a report of the Executive Committee was submitted by the Executive Secretary, Charles Thomson.[3] It embodied the following principal points:

(*a*) The Executive Committee recommended that a meeting of the Executive Committee be held in Washington as soon as possible after the return of the U. S. Delegation from the General Conference in Paris. It advocated a meeting of the National Commission in Washington early in 1947 to be followed immediately by a large general conference in Washington, to be followed in turn by various regional conferences.

[2] See Appendix 5, Bylaws of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

[3] See Appendix 10, Report of the Executive Committee, First Meeting of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

(*b*) It agreed to ask the Department of State to provide the secretariat for the National Commission, whose chief officer should serve as Executive Secretary of the Commission and of the Executive Committee.

(*c*) It appointed subcommittees on personnel and operation of the secretariat, interim reports, rules of procedure, and interim committees.

(*d*) It recommended the establishment of a Committee on Information to facilitate a continuing and effective flow of information on UNESCO developments to members of the Commission, to interested organizations, and to the general public.

(*e*) It advocated the postponement of the selection of the 10 additional organizations and the appointment by the Executive Committee of a subcommittee to study the problem and the names of candidate organizations. This subcommittee would also be charged with consideration of the development of procedures to carry out annual review and possible revision of membership among national voluntary organizations. Its report would be submitted at the next meeting of the National Commission.

(*f*) It recommended that the National Commission discuss the composition of the U.S. delegation to UNESCO in terms of general qualifications and without reference to individuals in order that the Executive Committee might convey recommendations to the Department of State respecting the delegation.

After discussion from the floor, the report of the Executive Committee was adopted with minor amendments, and the final session closed with consideration of the Final Report of the Commission to the Secretary of State and a discussion on the composition of the delegation to represent the United States at the Paris conference.

Substantive Work of the National Commission

A. The Delegation to UNESCO General Conference

In conformity with the Constitution of UNESCO, Article III, the Department of State consulted the National Commission as to composition of the delegation to represent the United States at the Paris meeting. This matter was referred to the Executive Committee which, after a number of detailed discussions, presented its view to the Commission as a whole. As indicated above, the Commission accepted the recommendations of the Executive Committee and limited discussion from the floor on the delegation to one concerning general qualifications.

In the meetings of the Committee names of possible candidates submitted by the members of the Commission were carefully reviewed and discussed, and recommendations on outstanding individuals were made to the Department of State. It was the general feeling that the basic requirement was to establish a delegation which would represent the United States as a whole rather than the different organizations of which the National Commission is composed. The delegates, being necessarily limited in number, must be able to perform a variety of tasks and to represent in their persons not only the substantive UNESCO fields but many facets of American life. It was agreed that the delegation must have sufficient persons at the operating level, that it must be distinguished from the point of view of acceptance by the people as well as by the intellectual community, and that it should be selected with a view to coverage of the major geographic areas of the country. The Committee proposed that the delegation be made up of 5 voting delegates, 5 non-voting delegates, approximately 25 advisers and technical experts, and the necessary administrative and clerical personnel.

B. The Program of UNESCO

The principal substantive work of the National Commission at its first meeting was to advise the Department of State on matters relating to the first meeting of the General Conference of UNESCO to be held at Paris on November 19, 1946. A program of activities for UNESCO had been placed before it in the form of a report prepared by the Preparatory Commission of the Organization. Consideration of the proposed program was to be the chief order of business at the Paris conference.

Accordingly, in considering the proposed report the Commission organized itself into round tables, each of which considered a section of the Report of the Preparatory Commission. The round tables were as follows: Creative Arts, Cultural Institutions, Education, Humanities, Mass Communications, Natural Sciences, and Social Sciences. Each round table held two sessions. In preparing their findings, the round tables took account not only of the relevant sections of the Report of the Preparatory Commission but also

of documents prepared by advisory groups and bodies which had been consulted by the Department of State. Notable among these was the report on the Media of Mass Communication and UNESCO, prepared by an advisory committee of five consultants.

Reports of the round tables were presented to the Commission in plenary session and after discussion and modification were adopted. A committee on Findings and Reports was appointed, under the chairmanship of Archibald MacLeish, to summarize in one document the salient features of the round table reports and of the judgments expressed by the Commission in connection with the program of UNESCO. The Final Report was presented at the closing plenary session and was adopted.[4]

It was natural that there should be some differences in emphasis and interpretation of the functions of UNESCO. Some members of the Commission maintained that UNESCO had a single purpose, namely, to contribute directly to the establishment of peace. Accordingly, they doubted whether UNESCO should expend much of its resources on the advancement of scholarship as such, or on educational projects which might make only an indirect contribution to international understanding. Others felt that this position was too extreme; they thought that UNESCO should not neglect any project which would promote fruitful cooperation in educational, scientific, and cultural activity.

Another difference appeared on the question of the role of the press, radio, and films in UNESCO's program. Should these agencies of mass communication be given the highest priority in UNESCO's program? There was some feeling that these media might be overemphasized, with consequent slighting of the role of schools, books, the arts, libraries, and other agencies of education.

Such questions were freely argued. The Final Report on the program of UNESCO expressed a unanimous agreement on basic principles. These principles may be summarized as follows:

1. The purpose of the Organization, as stated in its Constitution, is to contribute to peace and well-being by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture.

2. The Organization is not conceived of, in other words, as an international undertaking to promote education and science and culture as ends in themselves, but rather, through education and science and culture, to advance the peace of the world.

3. UNESCO should adopt a plan of action which gives promise of advancing directly and significantly the cause of peace through understanding.

4. UNESCO should throughout its program strive to bring about universal freedom of thought and freedom of expression.

5. Fundamentally, the Organization is concerned with the relations of men to each other. It approaches these relations in terms of three kinds of international collaboration as set forth in its functions (article I): first, international collaboration for the *preservation* of men's knowledge of themselves, their world, and each other; secondly, international collaboration for the *increase* of that knowledge through learning, science, and the arts; thirdly, international collaboration for the *dissemination* of that knowledge through education and through all the instruments of communication between the peoples of the earth in order that understanding may replace mistrust and suspicion and the fear which leads to war.

6. In view of the urgency of developing a sense of international solidarity as a firm basis for the United Nations, the major part of the resources and the personnel of UNESCO should at this time be expended on activities aimed directly toward the *dissemination* of men's knowledge of themselves, their world, and each other, through education and through all the instruments of communication.

7. UNESCO should utilize any proper means which gives promise of success.

8. The budget of UNESCO should be determined solely by consideration of the sum necessary for appropriate projects, and not by any preconceived notion of budgetary limitations.

In applying these principles, the Commission called for fundamental reconsideration of the many points of the report prepared by the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO. In particular, it recommended that the prosecution of scholarly research should, for the most part, be left by

[4] See Appendix 11, Final Report to the Secretary of State of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

UNESCO to academic institutions and associations. UNESCO's role in this regard should be limited in the main to the provision of facilities which would assist scholarly bodies to foster intellectual intercourse among themselves. Similarly, the Commission recommended that UNESCO should refrain from ambitious undertakings in bibliography and reference services of a generalized scholarly character. The Commission held that research and bibliographical activities should so far as possible be concentrated in those fields in which it was indispensable as a means to the achievement of UNESCO's primary purpose.

The Commission recommended that UNESCO's resources should be devoted to such educational activities as would tend most directly to promote understanding of the fundamental aims of the United Nations and mutual understanding among the peoples. Accordingly, it urged that greater emphasis be placed upon these objectives in the work to be undertaken by UNESCO in relation to recognized educational systems. Similarly, the Commission urged that UNESCO promote the fullest possible use of media of mass communication for these ends, not only by promoting the free interchange of information and ideas but also by influencing, through appropriate methods, the quality and content of films, radio programs, and the press.

The Commission called for the adoption by UNESCO of a vigorous program of action, including the undertaking of appropriate demonstration or "pilot" projects.

Giving consideration to the problems of educational relief and rehabilitation in war-devastated countries, the National Commission expressed a full and vigorous concern that the United States give every assistance within its power, and a resolution was passed to that effect.

The Future Program of the National Commission

In concluding his address of welcome to the members of the National Commission, September 23, 1946, Assistant Secretary of State Benton said:

"UNESCO has been formed to prosecute this search for intellectual and moral solidarity in the minds of men. It is the mandate of this National Commission on International Educational, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation to inspire and to assist all people in this country to construct in their own minds, and in the minds of their neighbors, this intellectual and moral solidarity. Only in this way can this Commission help to build the true defenses of peace."

This, then, in brief is the task about which the future program of UNESCO is being built. As stated in its bylaws this means that the National Commission serves as an adviser to the Government and as principal liaison agent with organizations, institutions, and individuals in the United States which are interested in UNESCO, to the end that its general objectives may be understood by the peoples of the United States.

The National Commission is the means whereby UNESCO will project its policies within the United States—a sobering challenge if understanding among peoples is, as we believe, necessary to the maintenance of peace. The members of the Commission, in touch with the schools and colleges, with organized groups throughout the country, and with the millions of individuals comprising them, must bring them into active participation in the work of UNESCO. The Commission must not only be a vital force in conducting this program through the traditional educational, scientific, and cultural channels. It must be more. It must carry forward the new concept of peoples speaking to peoples across national boundaries through the press, the radio, and the motion picture on an unprecedented scale—if peace is to be found in time through the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind. Concretely and immediately the program of the National Commission may be visualized by reexamining the recommendations of the Executive Committee approved at the last session of its first meeting. These were as follows:

(*a*) Expand and strengthen the present organizational structure by the inclusion of 10 additional organizations early in 1947, selected by the Commission itself as best fitted to supplement the present list.

(*b*) Hold a meeting of the Executive Committee in Washington as soon as possible after the Paris conference to chart a program of action for consideration by the Commission at the earliest possible date and to establish such additional committees as may be necessary in this connection.

(*c*) Hold meetings of presently constituted committees to carry out decisions already formulated by the Commission.

(*d*) Call a meeting of the National Commission in Washington early in 1947, to discuss the Paris conference and to authorize a program in the light of its findings.

(*e*) Convoke a large national conference to follow immediately after the meeting of the National Commission. Invitations are to be extended to all interested national voluntary organizations who would thus be enlisted as active participants in the UNESCO program. It is expected that from three to seven thousand persons may attend. Forums and working sessions are planned in the various UNESCO fields on the projects recommended at Paris and the means of carrying them to the American public through education and mass communication, with the aid of the various organizations represented.

(*f*) Conduct a series of regional conferences in different geographic areas of the United States to bring the UNESCO program to the attention of regional groups and organizations.

(*g*) Hold, throughout the year, meetings of committees and special conferences of experts for the consideration of specific matters relating to the Organization by persons of specialized competences.

(*h*) Hold the second annual meeting of the National Commission for the conduct of regular business, the consideration of the first year's activities, and recommendations to the United States Government in connection with the second General Conference of UNESCO.

The above schedule may be considered as a pattern for the annual program of the National Commission as it is foreseen at this time. The continuation and success of such a program will, of course, depend directly upon the ability of the National Commission to place the UNESCO program effectively and untiringly before the American public and to secure in the public such recognition of the vital importance of the National Commission's task as will ensure for it the necessary budget. After the initial stages of organization have been completed the Commission expects to hold its meetings and general conferences in different sections of the United States in emphasis of the fact that UNESCO is truly a creature of the people.

To the end that effective operation of a program potentially so great may be obtained, the secretariat of the Commission, provided by the Department of State, will be organized to meet this requirement. At the same time, to facilitate immediately a continuing and effective flow of information on UNESCO developments to the members of the National Commission, to interested organizations, and to the general public, a standing Committee on Information of the Commission will aid and advise the secretariat.

The future program of the United States National Commission for UNESCO is to win the support and participation of all Americans in the breaking down of the bars that separate the peoples of the world and the strengthening of the ties that bind them together as human beings. The National Commission's confidence in achieving these high objectives was expressed by the Honorable Archibald MacLeish in the following words:

" . . . Wide as are the differences, the underlying agreements among the peoples of the world are infinitely wider and more real. Men who perceived that truth in the moment of insight of the war did not doubt that a concerted and courageous international effort could break through the barriers of fear and bigotry and prejudice and make the community of life of the peoples of this earth articulate and clear. UNESCO was the instrument they created for that purpose. . . ."

Its future program is to assist in putting knowledge to work throughout the world in the interests of the peoples of the world in the urgent cause of human welfare and peace.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THIS CONSTITUTION ON BEHALF OF THEIR PEOPLES DECLARE

that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;

that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

FOR THESE REASONS,

the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

IN CONSEQUENCE WHEREOF

they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organisation was established and which its Charter proclaims.

ARTICLE I. Purposes and Functions

1. The purpose of the Organisation is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.

2. To realise this purpose the Organisation will:

(*a*) collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;

(*b*) give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture;

by collaborating with Members. at their request, in the development of educational activities;

by instituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social;

by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom;

(*c*) maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge;

by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions;

by encouraging cooperation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science and culture and the exchange of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest and other materials of information;

by initiating methods of international cooperation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.

3. With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States Members of this Organisation, the Organisation is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.

ARTICLE II. Membership

1. Membership of the United Nations Organisation shall carry with it the right to membership of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

2. Subject to the conditions of the agreement between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation, approved pursuant to Article X of this Constitution, States not members of the United Nations Organisation may be admitted to membership of the Organisation, upon recommendation of the Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote of the General Conference.

3. Members of the Organisation which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership of the United Nations Organisation shall, upon the request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation.

4. Members of the Organisation which are expelled from the United Nations Organisation shall automatically cease to be members of this Organisation.

ARTICLE III. Organs

The Organisation shall include a General Conference, an Executive Board and a Secretariat.

ARTICLE IV. The General Conference

A. Composition

1. The General Conference shall consist of the representatives of the States Members of the Organisation. The Government of each Member State shall appoint not more than five delegates, who shall be selected after consultation with the National Commission, if established, or with educational, scientific and cultural bodies.

B. Functions

2. The General Conference shall determine the policies and the main lines of work of the Organisation. It shall take decisions on programmes drawn up by the Executive Board.

3. The General Conference shall, when it deems it desirable, summon international conferences on education, the sciences and humanities and the dissemination of knowledge.

4. The General Conference shall, in adopting proposals for submission to the Member States, distinguish between recommendations and international conventions submitted for their approval. In the former case a majority vote shall suffice; in the latter case a two-thirds majority shall be required. Each of the Member States shall sub-

mit recommendations or conventions to its competent authorities within a period of one year from the close of the session of the General Conference at which they were adopted.

5. The General Conference shall advise the United Nations Organisation on the educational, scientific and cultural aspects of matters of concern to the latter, in accordance with the terms and procedure agreed upon between the appropriate authorities of the two Organisations.

6. The General Conference shall receive and consider the reports submitted periodically by Member States as provided by Article VIII.

7. The General Conference shall elect the members of the Executive Board and, on the recommendation of the Board, shall appoint the Director-General.

C. Voting

8. Each Member State shall have one vote in the General Conference. Decisions shall be made by a simple majority except in cases in which a two-thirds majority is required by the provisions of this Constitution. A majority shall be a majority of the Members present and voting.

D. Procedure

9. The General Conference shall meet annually in ordinary session; it may meet in extraordinary session on the call of the Executive Board. At each session the location of its next session shall be designated by the General Conference and shall vary from year to year.

10. The General Conference shall, at each session, elect a President and other officers and adopt rules of procedure.

11. The General Conference shall set up special and technical committees and such other subordinate bodies as may be necessary for its purposes.

12. The General Conference shall cause arrangements to be made for public access to meetings, subject to such regulations as it shall prescribe.

E. Observers

13. The General Conference, on the recommendation of the Executive Board and by a two-thirds majority may, subject to its rules of procedure, invite as observers at specified sessions of the Conference or of its commissions representatives of international organisations, such as those referred to in Article XI, paragraph 4.

Article V. Executive Board

A. Composition

1. The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen members elected by the General Conference from among the delegates appointed by the Member States, together with the President of the Conference who shall sit *ex officio* in an advisory capacity.

2. In electing the members of the Executive Board the General Conference shall endeavour to include persons competent in the arts, the humanities, the sciences, education and the diffusion of ideas, and qualified by their experience and capacity to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board. It shall also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution. Not more than one national of any Member State shall serve on the Board at any one time, the President of the Conference excepted.

3. The elected members of the Executive Board shall serve for a term of three years, and shall be immediately eligible for a second term, but shall not serve consecutively for more than two terms. At the first election eighteen members shall be elected of whom one third shall retire at the end of the first year and one third at the end of the second year, the order of retirement being determined immediately after the election by the drawing of lots. Thereafter six members shall be elected each year.

4. In the event of the death or resignation of one of its members, the Executive Board shall appoint, from among the delegates of the Member State concerned, a substitute, who shall serve until the next session of the General Conference which shall elect a member for the remainder of the term.

B. Functions

5. The Executive Board, acting under the authority of the General Conference, shall be responsible for the execution of the programme adopted by the Conference and shall prepare its agenda and programme of work.

6. The Executive Board shall recommend to the General Conference the admission of new Members to the Organisation.

7. Subject to decisions of the General Conference, the Executive Board shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its officers from among its members.

8. The Executive Board shall meet in regular session at least twice a year and may meet in special session if convoked by the Chairman on his own initiative or upon the request of six members of the Board.

9. The Chairman of the Executive Board shall present to the General Conference, with or without comment, the annual report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organisation, which shall have been previously submitted to the Board.

10. The Executive Board shall make all necessary arrangements to consult the representatives of international organisations or qualified persons concerned with questions within its competence.

11. The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the General Conference on behalf of the Conference as a whole and not as representatives of their respective Governments.

ARTICLE VI. Secretariat

1. The Secretariat shall consist of a Director-General and such staff as may be required.

2. The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the General Conference for a period of six years, under such conditions as the Conference may approve, and shall be eligible for re-appointment. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation.

3. The Director-General, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the General Conference, of the Executive Board, and of the committees of the Organisation. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.

4. The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat in accordance with staff regulations to be approved by the General Conference. Subject to the paramount consideration of securing the highest standards of integrity, efficiency and technical competence, appointment to the staff shall be on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

5. The responsibilities of the Director-General and of the staff shall be exclusively international in character. In the discharge of their duties they shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organisation. They shall refrain from any action which might prejudice their position as international officials. Each State Member of the Organisation undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

6. Nothing in this Article shall preclude the Organisation from entering into special arrangements within the United Nations Organisation for common services and staff and for the interchange of personnel.

ARTICLE VII. National Co-operating Bodies

1. Each Member State shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions for the purpose of associating its principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with the work of the Organisation, preferably by the formation of a National Commission broadly representative of the Government and such bodies.

2. National Commissions or national co-operating bodies, where they exist, shall act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organisation and shall function as agencies of liaison in all matters of interest to it.

3. The Organisation may, on the request of a Member State, delegate, either temporarily or permanently, a member of its Secretariat to serve on the National Commission of that State, in order to assist in the development of its work.

ARTICLE VIII. Reports by Member States

Each Member State shall report periodically to the Organisation, in a manner to be determined by the General Conference, on its laws, regulations and statistics relating to educational, scientific and cultural life and institutions, and on the action taken upon the recommendations and conventions referred to in Article IV, paragraph 4.

ARTICLE IX. Budget

1. The budget shall be administered by the Organisation.

2. The General Conference shall approve and give final effect to the budget and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among the States Members of the Organisation subject to such arrangement with the United Nations as may

be provided in the agreement to be entered into pursuant to Article X.

3. The Director-General, with the approval of the Executive Board, may receive gifts, bequests, and subventions directly from governments, public and private institutions, associations and private persons.

Article X. Relations with the United Nations Organisation

This Organisation shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organisation, as soon as practicable, as one of the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations. This relationship shall be effected through an agreement with the United Nations Organisation under Article 63 of the Charter, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the General Conference of this Organisation. The agreement shall provide for effective co-operation between the two Organisations in the pursuit of their common purposes, and at the same time shall recognise the autonomy of this Organisation, within the fields of its competence as defined in this Constitution. Such agreement may, among other matters, provide for the approval and financing of the budget of the Organisation by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Article XI. Relations with other specialized Organisations and agencies

1. This Organisation may co-operate with other specialised inter-governmental organisations and agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes. To this end the Director-General, acting under the general authority of the Executive Board, may establish effective working relationships with such organisations and agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation. Any formal arrangements entered into with such organisations or agencies shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

2. Whenever the General Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose purposes and functions lie within the competence of this Organisation, deem it desirable to effect a transfer of their resources and activities to this Organisation, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for its purpose.

3. This Organisation may make appropriate arrangements with other inter-governmental organisations for reciprocal representation at meetings.

4. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organisations concerned with matters within its competence, and may invite them to undertake specific tasks. Such co-operation may also include appropriate participation by representatives of such organisations on advisory committees set up by the General Conference.

Article XII. Legal status of the Organisation

The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation concerning the legal status of that Organisation, its privileges and immunities shall apply in the same way to this Organisation.

Article XIII. Amendments

1. Proposals for amendments to this Constitution shall become effective upon receiving the approval of the General Conference by a two-thirds majority; provided, however, that those amendments which involve fundamental alterations in the aims of the Organisation or new obligations for the Member States shall require subsequent acceptance on the part of two-thirds of the Member States before they come into force. The draft texts of proposed amendments shall be communicated by the Director-General to the Member States at least six months in advance of their consideration by the General Conference.

2. The General Conference shall have power to adopt by a two-thirds majority rules of procedure for carrying out the provisions of this Article.

Article XIV. Interpretation

1. The English and French texts of this Constitution shall be regarded as equally authoritative.

2. Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation of this Constitution shall be referred for determination to the International Court of

Justice or to an arbitral tribunal, as the General Conference may determine under its rules of procedure.

ARTICLE XV. Entry into force

1. This Constitution shall be subject to acceptance. The instruments of acceptance shall be deposited with the Government of the United Kingdom.

2. This Constitution shall remain open for signature in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom. Signature may take place either before or after the deposit of the instrument of acceptance. No acceptance shall be valid unless preceded or followed by signature.

3. This Constitution shall come into force when it has been accepted by twenty of its signatories. Subsequent acceptances shall take effect immediately.

4. The Government of the United Kingdom will inform all members of the United Nations of the receipt of all instruments of acceptance and of the date on which the Constitution comes into force in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

In faith whereof, the undersigned, duly authorised to that effect, have signed this Constitution in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Done in London the sixteenth day of November, 1945 in a single copy, in the English and French languages, of which certified copies will be communicated by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Governments of all the Members of the United Nations.

[Here follow the signatures of the heads of the delegations.]

APPENDIX 2

Joint Resolution providing for membership and participation by the United States in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and authorizing an appropriation therefor [1]

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is hereby authorized to accept membership for the United States in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (hereinafter referred to as the "Organization"), the constitution of which was approved in London on November 16, 1945, by the United Nations Conference for the establishment of an Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and deposited in the Archives of the Government of the United Kingdom.

SEC. 2. The President by and with the consent of the Senate shall designate from time to time to attend a specified session or specified sessions of the General Conference of the Organization not to exceed five representatives of the United States and such number of alternates not to exceed five as he may determine consistent with the rules of procedure of the General Conference: *Provided, however*, That each such representative and each such alternate must be an American citizen. One of the representatives shall be designated as the senior representative. Such representatives and alternates shall each be entitled to receive compensation at such rates, not to exceed $12,000 per annum, as the President may determine, for such periods as the President may specify, except that no Member of the Senate or House of Representatives or officer of the United States who is designated under this section as a representative of the United States or as an alternate to attend any specified session or specified sessions of the General

[1] Public Law 565, chap. 700 (79th Cong., 2d sess.), H. J. Res. 305.

Conference shall be entitled to receive such compensation. Whenever a representative of the United States is elected by the General Conference to serve on the Executive Board, or is elected President of the General Conference and thus becomes an ex officio adviser to the Executive Board, under provision of article V of the constitution of the Organization, the President may extend the above provisions for compensation to such representative during periods of service in connection with the Executive Board.

SEC. 3. In fulfillment of article VII of the constitution of the Organization, the Secretary of State shall cause to be organized a National Commission on Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation of not to exceed one hundred members. Such Commission shall be appointed by the Secretary of State and shall consist of (a) not more than sixty representatives of principal national, voluntary organizations interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters; and (b) not more than forty outstanding persons selected by the Secretary of State, including not more than ten persons holding office under or employed by the Government of the United States, not more than fifteen representatives of the educational, scientific, and cultural interests of State and local governments, and not more than fifteen persons chosen at large. The Secretary of State is authorized to name in the first instance fifty of the principal national voluntary organizations, each of which shall be invited to designate one representative for appointment to the National Commission. Thereafter, the National Commission shall periodically review and, if deemed advisable, revise the list of such organizations designating representatives in order to achieve a desirable rotation among organizations represented. To constitute the initial Commission, one-third of the members shall be appointed to serve for a term of one year, one-third for a term of two years, and one-third or the remainder thereof for a term of three years; from thence on following, all members shall be appointed for a term of three years each, but no member shall serve more than two consecutive terms. The National Commission shall meet at least once annually. The National Commission shall designate from among its members an executive committee, and may designate such other committees as may prove necessary, to consult with the Department of State and to perform such other functions as the National Commission shall delegate to them. No member of the National Commission shall be allowed any salary or other compensation for services: *Provided*, *however*, That he may be paid his actual transportation expenses, and not to exceed $10 per diem in lieu of subsistence and other expenses, while away from his home in attendance upon authorized meetings or in consultation on request with the Department of State. The Department of State is authorized to provide the necessary secretariat for the Commission.

SEC. 4. That each such member of the National Commission must be an American citizen.

SEC. 5. The National Commission shall call general conferences for the discussion of matters relating to the activities of the Organization, to which conferences organized bodies actively interested in such matters shall be invited to send representatives: *Provided*, *however*, That the travel and maintenance of such representation shall be without expense to the Government. Such general conferences shall be held annually or biennially, as the National Commission may determine, and in such places as it may designate. They shall be attended so far as possible by the members of the National Commission and by the delegates of the United States to the General Conference of the Organization. The National Commission is further authorized to call special conferences of experts for the consideration of specific matters relating to the Organization by persons of specialized competences. Under such regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe, the actual transportation expenses of experts attending such conferences shall be borne by the Department of State, and they shall be allowed a per diem of $10 in lieu of subsistence and other expenses, for the period of actual attendance and of necessary travel.

SEC. 6. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated annually to the Department of State, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the Organization as apportioned by the General Conference of the Organization in accordance with article IX of the constitution of the Organization, and such additional sums as may be necessary to pay the expenses of participation by the United States in the activities of

the Organization, including: (a) salaries of the representatives provided for in section 2 hereof, of their appropriate staffs, and of members of the secretariat of the National Commission provided for in section 3 hereof, including personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, without regard to the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended; (b) travel expenses without regard to the Standardized Government Travel Regulations, as amended, the Subsistence Expense Act of 1926, as amended, and section 10 of the Act of March 3, 1933 (U. S. C., title 5, sec. 73b), and, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe, travel expenses of families and transportation of effects of United States representatives and other personnel in going to and returning from their post of duty; (c) allowances for living quarters, including heat, fuel, and light, as authorized by the Act approved June 26, 1930 (U. S. C., title 5, sec. 118a); (d) cost of living allowances under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe, including allowances to persons temporarily stationed abroad; (e) communication services; (f) stenographic reporting, translating, and other services, by contract, if deemed necessary, without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5); (g) local transportation; (h) equipment; (i) transportation of things; (j) rent of offices; (k) printing and binding without regard to section 11 of the Act of March 1, 1919 (U. S. C., title 44, sec. 111), and section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5); (l) official entertainment; (m) stationery; (n) purchase of newspapers, periodicals, books, and documents; and (o) such other expenses as may be authorized by the Secretary of State.

SEC. 7. Unless Congress by law authorizes such action, neither the President nor any person or agency shall on behalf of the United States approve any amendment under article XIII of the constitution of the Organization involving any new obligation for the United States.

SEC. 8. In adopting this joint resolution, it is the understanding of the Congress that the constitution of the Organization does not require, nor does this resolution authorize, the disclosure of any information or knowledge in any case in which such disclosure is prohibited by any law of the United States.

Approved July 30, 1946.

APPENDIX 3

Officers and Members of the Executive Committee of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO

The following officers and members of the Executive Committee were elected at the third plenary session of the first meeting of the National Commission on Tuesday, September 24, 1946.

Chairman

Milton Eisenhower, President, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, Manhattan, Kans.

Vice-Chairmen

Edward W. Barrett, Editorial Director, *Newsweek*, New York, N.Y.

Arthur H. Compton, Chancellor, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C.

Executive Committee

Erwin D. Canham, American Society for Newspaper Editors, Boston, Mass.

William G. Carr, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.

Ben Mark Cherrington, Director, Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, Denver, Colo.

Nelson H. Cruikshank, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.
Kermit Eby, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D.C.
The Honorable Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, Washington, D.C.
The Very Reverend Monsignor Frederick G. Hochwalt, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D.C.
Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
Eric Johnston, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., Washington, D.C.
The Honorable Archibald MacLeish, Conway, Mass.
James Marshall, Member, Board of Education, New York, N.Y.
Miss Kathryn McHale, American Association of University Women, Washington, D.C.
Justin Miller, National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.
Beardsley Ruml, Chairman, R. H. Macy and Company, New York, N.Y.
Miss Maycie Southall, Professor of Elementary Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

APPENDIX 4

Members of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO

One Year

National Organizations

Ward Barnes, National Editorial Association, Eagle Grove, Iowa
William G. Carr, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.
James P. Conant, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Cambridge, Mass.
Nelson H. Cruikshank, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.
Edgar Dale, Educational Film Library Association, Columbus, Ohio
Kermit Eby, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D.C.
Thomas S. Gates, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
Harry D. Gideonse, Associated Youth Serving Organizations, Inc., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein, Synagogue Council of America, New York, N.Y.
Chauncey J. Hamlin, American Association of Museums, Washington, D.C.
Howard Hanson, National Music Council, Rochester, N.Y.
Mrs. Charles E. Heming, National League of Women Voters, White Plains, N.Y.
The Very Reverend Monsignor Frederick G. Hochwalt, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D.C.
Paul T. Homan, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. L. W. Hughes, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Chicago, Ill.
The Reverend F. Ernest Johnson, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York, N.Y.
Mrs. Kathleen Lardie, Association for Education by Radio, Detroit, Mich.
Miss Kathryn McHale, American Association of University Women, Washington, D.C.
Walter N. Ridley, American Teachers Association, Petersburg, Va.

Members at Large

Arthur H. Compton, Chancellor, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, New York, N.Y.
John Hay Whitney, New York, N.Y.
Mrs. Louise Wright, Executive Secretary, Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, Chicago, Ill.

State and Local Governments

Ralph A. Beals, Director, New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.

Thomas G. Pullen, State Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore, Md.

Daniel C. Rich, Director of Fine Arts, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College, New York, N.Y.

Miss Maycie Southall, Professor of Elementary Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

Federal Government

Donald C. Stone, Assistant Director, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C.

John W. Studebaker, Commissioner, United States Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Alexander Wetmore, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Two Years

National Organizations

Barclay Acheson, National Publishers Association, Pleasantville, N.Y.

Fred Bailey, National Grange, Washington, D.C.

Miss Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C.

Detlev Bronk, National Research Council, Washington, D.C.

Louis Brownlow, American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities, Washington, D.C.

Erwin D. Canham, American Society for Newspaper Editors, Boston, Mass.

Morse A. Cartwright, American Association for Adult Education, New York, N.Y.

Hubert O. Croft, American Society for Engineering Education, Iowa City, Iowa

Albert Harkness, American Institute of Architects, Providence, R.I.

Ross G. Harrison, National Academy of Sciences, New Haven, Conn.

Ralph E. Himstead, American Association of University Professors, Washington, D.C.

Paul G. Hoffman, Committee for Economic Development, New York, N.Y.

Eric Johnston, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Members at Large

The Honorable Chester Bowles, Hayden's Point, Essex, Conn.

Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, President, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

Charles S. Johnson, Director, Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

The Honorable Archibald MacLeish, Conway, Mass.

Beardsley Ruml, Chairman, R. H. Macy and Company, New York, N.Y.

State and Local Governments

James Frank Dobie, Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

Clarence A. Dykstra, Provost, University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.

Milton Eisenhower, President, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, Manhattan, Kans.

Reuben Gustavson, Chancellor, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr.

James Marshall, Member, Board of Education, New York, N.Y.

Federal Government

David E. Finley, Director, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Thomas Parran, M.D., Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service, Washington, D.C.

Three Years

National Organizations

Walter A. Bloedern, M.D., Association of American Medical Colleges, Washington, D.C.

William K. Jackson, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D.C.

Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C.

C. J. McLanahan, Cooperative League of the United States of America, Chicago, Ill.

Justin Miller, National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.

Donald M. Nelson, Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers, Hollywood, Calif.

Guy E. Snavely, Association of American Colleges, Washington, D.C.

Frederick D. G. Ribble, Association of American Law Schools, Charlottesville, Va.

Mrs. William Dick Sporborg, General Federation of Women's Clubs, New York, N.Y.

The Reverend Edward V. Stanford, National Catholic Educational Association, Washington, D.C.

Charles H. Thompson, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Washington, D.C.
Ralph A. Ulveling, American Library Association, Detroit, Mich.
Hudson Walker, American Federation of Arts, New York, N.Y.
Mrs. Roy C. F. Weagly, American Farm Bureau Federation, Hagerstown, Md.
Frank Weil, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York, N.Y.
Harry F. West, American Book Publishers Council, New York, N.Y.
Edward Yoemans, Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, Trenton, N.J.
George F. Zook, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.

Members at Large

Edward W. Barrett, Editorial Director, *Newsweek*, New York, N.Y.
Ben Mark Cherrington, Director, Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, Denver, Colo.
Henry A. Moe, Secretary, John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, New York, N.Y.
Edward R. Murrow, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, N.Y.

State and Local Governments

A. J. Stoddard, Superintendent of Schools, Philadephia, Pa.
George D. Stoddard, President, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Blake Van Leer, President, Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta, Ga.
Mrs. Pearl A. Wanamaker, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Olympia, Wash.
Miss Helen C. White, Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Donald Bertrand Tressider, President, Stanford University, Stanford University, Calif.

Federal Government

General Omar N. Bradley, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C.
The Honorable Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, Washington, D.C.
The Honorable Chester E. Merrow, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.
The Honorable James E. Murray, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX 5

Bylaws of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO

Name and Establishment

1. The United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereinafter called the National Commission) is hereby organized by the Secretary of State in compliance with the provisions of Public Law 565 of the 79th Congress and in fulfillment of Article VII of the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereinafter called UNESCO) to advise the Department of State on the United States participation in UNESCO.

Objects of the National Commission

2. The objects of the National Commission shall be:

(*a*) to advise the Government of the United States in matters relating to UNESCO and in all matters referred to the Commission by the Secretary of State;

(*b*) to act in a consultative capacity with regard to the appointment of the United States delegates to the General Conferences of UNESCO;

(*c*) to advise with the Delegations of the United States to the General Conferences of UNESCO with regard to the activities of the latter;

(*d*) to serve as an agency of liaison with organizations, institutions and individuals in the United States which are interested in matters relating to the activities of UNESCO;

(*e*) to promote an understanding of the general objectives of UNESCO on the part of the people of the United States.

Membership of the National Commission

3. The National Commission shall be composed of not more than one hundred persons, citizens of the United States, who shall be appointed by the Secretary of State in accordance with the provisions of Sec. 3 of Public Law 565 above mentioned, as follows:

(*a*) one representative each of not more than sixty principal national voluntary organizations interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters;

(*b*) not more than ten persons holding office under or employed by the Government of the United States;

(*c*) not more than fifteen persons representative of the educational, scientific and cultural interests of State and local governments;

(*d*) not more than fifteen members at large.

4. The National Commission shall annually review and, if deemed advisable, revise the list of national voluntary organizations designating representatives, but the total number of organizations in such list shall not exceed sixty.

Term of Membership

5. (*a*) The term of membership in the National Commission shall be three years, but no member shall serve more than two consecutive terms, and provided that,

(*b*) If the place of any member shall be vacated before the end of his term it shall be filled only for the unexpired part of the term, and in the same manner as the original appointment,

(*c*) The membership of members appointed as officers or employees of the Government of the United States or as representatives of the interests of State and local governments shall terminate when such member ceases to hold such position.

(*d*) The membership of members appointed as representatives of national voluntary organizations shall be terminated when such member ceases to be accredited by such organization.

(*e*) Members who vacate their membership in accordance with the provisions of Sec. 5, *c* and *d*, shall not be thereby disqualified for appointment under other categories of membership designated in Section 3, provided that no member shall serve more than two consecutive terms.

(*Temporary provision*)

(Within each category of members provided for in Sec. 3 above, the first members appointed to the National Commission shall be divided by lot into three approximately equal classes, of which the first shall serve one year, the second, two years, and the third, three years. Such members shall be eligible for only one consecutive full term.)

Officers

6. (*a*) The Officers of the National Commission shall be a Chairman and three Vice-Chairmen, chosen from among the members of the Commission.

(*b*) The Chairman, or in his absence a Vice-Chairman, rotated alphabetically, shall preside over the meetings of the National Commission and of the Executive Committee.

(*c*) The Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen shall be elected in the annual meeting of the National Commission after nomination by the Committee on Nominations and from the floor, and shall serve from the end of the meeting at which they are elected until the end of the next succeeding annual meeting or until the election of their successors. No person shall serve more than three consecutive years as Chairman or Vice-Chairman.

(*Temporary provision*)

(The Chairman and Vice-Chairmen shall be elected at the first annual meeting of the National Commission after nomination by the Committee on Nominations and from the floor and shall serve through the first and second annual meetings of the National Commission.)

Executive Committee

7. (*a*) There shall be an Executive Committee chosen from among the members of the National Commission in such manner as broadly to represent the interests of the latter. It shall be composed as follows:

the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Commission (who shall serve as Chairman and Vice-

Chairmen of the Executive Committee); fifteen members elected by the National Commission in its annual meeting, after nominations by the Committee on Nominations and from the floor.

(*b*) The first Executive Committee shall serve through the first and second annual meetings of the National Commission. Thereafter the members of the Executive Committee shall serve from the end of the meeting at which they are elected until the end of the next succeeding annual meeting or until the election of their successors, but no elected member shall serve more than three consecutive years, and at least five of the fifteen elected members shall be replaced each year.

(*c*) The Executive Committee shall determine its rules of procedure, subject to approval by the National Commission.

(*d*) Subject to the instructions of the National Commission the Executive Committee shall manage the affairs of the Commission and shall act for it in all matters between its meetings. The Executive Committee shall:

call the meetings of the National Commission and prepare their agenda;
report to the National Commission on action taken;
appoint and instruct all committees unless other provision shall be made by the National Commission;
call and organize general conferences of the National Commission and the special conferences of experts, as provided in Sec. 5 of Public Law 565;
advise the Department of State with respect to the personnel and work of the Secretariat of the National Commission;
supervise the preparation of reports on the work of the National Commission and of its committees and of its conferences;
perform such other functions as the National Commission may authorize.

(*e*) The Executive Committee shall convey to the Secretary of State or his nominees the recommendations of the National Commission respecting the delegations of the United States to the General Conference of UNESCO and their guidance or instruction and shall represent the National Commission in consultation with the Secretary of State or his nominees concerning these matters.

(*f*) The Executive Committee shall meet at least twice a year.

(*g*) In all meetings for the transaction of business, ten members shall constitute a quorum.

(*h*) The Executive Committee is empowered to set up such sub-committees and to consult with such outside experts as it sees fit.

Committees

8. (*a*) The National Commission may, on recommendation by the Executive Committee, create committees to deal with its interests.

(*b*) The Chairman and members of Committees shall be appointed by the Executive Committee, and at least one member of each such Committee shall be chosen from among the members of the Executive Committee. There shall be such rotation in the membership of the Committees as the Executive Committee may determine.

(*c*) The mandate of each Committee and its general procedure shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

(*d*) Committees shall report to the Executive Committee on their proceedings and activities, and through the Executive Committee to the National Commission.

(*e*) Committees may be discharged by the National Commission, on recommendation by the Executive Committee.

Committee on Nominations

9. (*a*) There shall be a Committee on Nominations of seven persons which shall be appointed annually by the Executive Committee not less than two months prior to the annual meeting at which the nominations are to be presented.

(*b*) The Committee on Nominations shall prepare nominations for the offices of Chairman and Vice-Chairmen and for the elected members of the Executive Committee, which they shall communicate to the members of the National Commission one month in advance of the annual meeting.

Meetings of the National Commission

10. (*a*) The National Commission shall hold an annual meeting for the election of officers and members of the Executive Committee, the hearing of reports, and the consideration of matters laid before it by the Executive Committee and the Department of State, or by members of the Com-

mission. The date of the annual meeting shall be fixed in each case by the Executive Committee, preferably not less than two nor more than three months prior to the ordinary session of the General Conference of UNESCO. Notice of the date of the annual meeting shall be given to members of the National Commission as soon as practicable after the date of the ordinary session of the General Conference of UNESCO is fixed.

(*b*) Other meetings of the National Commission may be held as called by the Executive Committee, by the Department of State, or on request of thirty-five members. In such cases the maximum notice possible under the circumstances shall be given to the members of the National Commission.

(*c*) In all meetings for the transaction of business, thirty-five members of the National Commission shall constitute a quorum.

(*d*) Meetings of the National Commission may be held from time to time in different regions of the United States.

(*e*) There shall be no representation of members by proxy or alternate.

(*f*) Subject to any limitations of Public Law 565, particularly Section 8, a verbatim transcript of proceedings shall be taken of all meetings of the National Commission and shall be available to the members thereof. Summary minutes shall be prepared from such verbatim transcripts and made available as soon as possible to members of the National Commission. Following each session of the National Commission a report of the session, including the work of the plenary sessions and of the committees, shall be distributed to the members and made available to the public.

(*g*) Sessions of the National Commission may be of an executive nature but the objective shall be that all sessions will be open to the public.

General and Special Conferences

11. (*a*) In accordance with the provisions of Sec. 5 of Public Law 565, general conferences of the National Commission for the discussion of matters relating to the activities of UNESCO shall be called annually or biannually by the National Commission, to be held at such times and places as the Executive Committee may decide. To such conferences, organizations in the United States actively concerned with the activities of UNESCO shall be invited to send representatives, without expense to the Government of the United States. Members of the National Commission and delegates of the United States in General Conference of UNESCO shall attend these conferences, so far as it may be possible for them to do so. The Executive Committee shall assure the organization of such conferences and prepare their agenda, and shall supervise the preparation of the reports of their proceedings.

(*b*) Special Conferences of experts and consultants to consider specific matters relating to UNESCO may be called by the Executive Committee, as authorized under Sec. 5 of Public Law 565.

Secretariat

12. (*a*) The Secretariat of the National Commission shall be provided by the Department of State on the request of the Executive Committee. Subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, the chief officer of the Secretariat shall serve as Executive Secretary of the National Commission and of the Executive Committee.

(*b*) The secretariat, within the limits of its budget, shall assure administrative and secretarial services, and services of research, reporting, and editing, for the National Commission and all committees, and the general and special conferences.

13. It is understood that the Secretary of State or his designated representative or representatives may attend all meetings of the National Commission and of all its committees.

14. All activities of the National Commission involving the expenditure of public funds shall be subject to approval by the Secretary of State, or his nominees.

15. Amendments to the bylaws may be made on recommendation of the Executive Committee or on petition of 15 members and after submission to members of the National Commission at least thirty days in advance of any meeting and approval by a majority vote of the total number of members of the National Commission, including votes of absentee members submitted by mail.

APPENDIX 6

The National Commission—An Opportunity for Leadership

BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM BENTON[1]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION:

I welcome you to membership.

I am sorry that Secretary Byrnes is not here personally to extend you his welcome. But he is needed where he is. The papers tell us that he has some other problems on his hands. But from Paris he sends me the following message for you:

"I am happy to send this greeting to the United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on the occasion of its first meeting, which I hope may prove historic.

"The President and the Congress of the United States have pledged the support of the Government of the United States to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The National Commission has been created to join in fulfilling that pledge.

"The National Commission, by its broadly representative character, gives promise that the people of our country will work with and through UNESCO to build 'the defenses of peace' in the minds of men.

"UNESCO is an integral part of the international cooperative system of the United Nations.

"The road to international cooperation is a hard one at best. Suspicion and mistrust make the going the more difficult. If UNESCO can help to clear away these barriers, the peoples of the world will push ahead more surely and more rapidly.

"I welcome the assistance which the National Commission will give to the State Department, by its advice and action, in assuring that UNESCO achieves its high and difficult aims."

Mr. Chairman, only a few weeks hence, in November, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) will inherit the seats of the meek and the mighty in Paris. This will be the first meeting of the General Conference of UNESCO. In London last fall the main lines of organization were fixed by the Conference which agreed upon UNESCO's Constitution. At the Paris meeting in November, organization will be completed and UNESCO must decide upon the opening gambit of its program.

What will be the position of the United States delegation at this crucial conference in Paris which is the embryo that will determine the nature of the child? How will UNESCO project its policies within the United States? You have been appointed to help provide an answer to these two questions. You are expected to advise the American delegation to the UNESCO General Assembly as to the policies it should advocate. You are expected to help carry out the UNESCO program within the United States.

If we who profess a belief in education really believe the words which we so often use, namely, that understanding among peoples is necessary to the maintenance of peace, then we who are responsible for this National Commission face a challenge that is terrifying. But we must not admit that the challenge is beyond our grasp. You, the members, must build that understanding among peoples. You must build it brick by brick. And you must provide the mortar that holds the bricks together. Only you and men like you can do this job, here in the United States as in other countries.

We are at the beginning of a long process of breaking down the walls of national sovereignty and of persuading the peoples of this world to study each other and to cooperate with each other. In this process UNESCO can be—and indeed must be—the pioneer. And in the work of UNESCO, the United States is in a position to play a leading role. You, the members of this National Commission, can be responsible in a large measure, if you so choose, for the way in which that role is played.

[1] Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Department of State. Text of an address delivered before the opening session of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, Sept. 23, 1946.

I am thus privileged humbly to welcome you here today. You are indeed a hand-picked group. You are even well screened. And as members of the National Commission you are going to be further screened here. You will be screened for your ability and willingness to work hard at this job.

Many of you here this morning have already given us in the State Department a splendid example of what we shall expect from the members of the National Commission. From Archibald MacLeish, from our chairman of this morning, Mr. Cherrington, and from many others, the Department has received guidance and leadership both in the creation of UNESCO and of the National Commission. These men believe in this work. They have put in long hours proving their belief. We are deeply indebted to them.

This meeting is only your commencement. You are about to leave the ivy-covered towers which have sheltered you. You will serve for several years as members of this National Commission. Your actions will be closely followed and often severely criticized. Many demands will be made upon your time and energy. I dedicate you here to hard work. I dedicate you here to the aggressive pursuit of international understanding upon which peace must be based.

If you have read the material I have sent you, I need not review the background underlying this National Commission. The Constitution of UNESCO invited all national governments to associate the appropriate private organizations with the work of UNESCO. These organizations include the media of mass communications for reasons which I hope are obvious to most of you, or at least will become more obvious as you devote yourselves to the objectives set forth in UNESCO's Constitution.

The Congress of the United States created this National Commission in its bill authorizing the United States to join UNESCO. Congress assigned to the Department of State the responsibility for bringing you into being. The Department was authorized to select 50 national voluntary associations interested in the aims of UNESCO, and to invite each of these organizations to name one representative on the National Commission. The Commission itself was authorized to select 10 additional organizations. Further, the Department of State was authorized to select "forty outstanding persons" as members of the National Commission, this number to include 10 officials of the National government, 15 representatives of state and local government, and the remaining 15 to be chosen at large.

The Secretary of State delegated the responsibility in these matters to me. He assigned me no easy task.

Not only did Congress authorize the State Department to organize the National Commission but it gave the Department continuing responsibility for and to the National Commission. The Department is authorized to provide the secretariat for the Commission. The Department is ordered by law to listen to what you say.

I am happy to tell you at this time that Mr. Charles Thomson will serve as Acting Executive Secretary of the National Commission. He will be assisted by Mr. Stephen Dorsey. They are men with big ears; they are good listeners, as I shall try to be.

And now for some of the opportunities as I see them, and some of the dangers and pitfalls which lie before you. It's a wise child, I'm told, that knows its own father. The Department of State has fathered this National Commission. As individuals you all seem to me—as I look at you from this platform, and from what I've read about you in "Who's Who in America"—to be people of respectable age and experience. But collectively as a National Commission you are a very young person. Perhaps I might borrow some of the authority of the more aged Department of State and offer a few fatherly words of counsel to you as a young man starting out on life. Though I myself am only thirteen months old in the State Department, I too have learned, and you look very young to me.

As a young man, your opportunity is unlimited. You are not only an unprecedented body but a body without precedent. Here you are, a national conference, but meeting in the International Conference room of the Department of State. You are made up in considerable part of representatives of national voluntary organizations and yet you are created by the will of Congress and appointed by the Department of State. You give for the first time in our history a collective brain to the whole nervous system of American culture, science, education, and means of communication. Everything that you may now do will establish a precedent. You will have the opportunity to insure

that this Commission makes a distinctive place for itself in American life and in world culture. This is an unprecedented opportunity.

You have received copies of the proposed program for UNESCO, prepared by the secretariat of the Preparatory Commission which has been meeting in London. These proposals will be considered by the General Conference of UNESCO in Paris in November. Already, by mail, you have advised the State Department on the composition of the American delegation which is to be appointed by the President; and you must decide here, in the next four days, what advice you will give this delegation. Thus you can be an important voice in determining the world program of UNESCO.

Further, you are the potential instrument through which UNESCO acts in this country to win support for its program and to carry it forward. You are in touch with our schools and colleges, and with organized private groups throughout this country; it will be your task and your opportunity to bring these organizations, and the tens of millions of individual human beings which comprise them, into active participation in the work of UNESCO. This is one of the greatest opportunities and the greatest challenges that educators and intellectual leaders of this or any other country could be offered.

Perhaps it is more important for me today to stress the dangers which confront you. Dangers tend to be hidden. They are unpleasant to talk about, even between father and child. We do not like to pull the dangers from their dark corners. We prefer to talk about opportunities, and these latter are apparent even to a casual reader of UNESCO's Constitution.

First—I shall speak as frankly as I can—you may be nothing more than a debating society. True, you may issue some noble pronouncements and engage in some stimulating discussions—and indeed you should do so—but then, each year after your annual oratory, you may quietly hibernate. Will you come out with hardheaded proposals, urge them on this Government, push them with UNESCO, publicize them in this country, press them on the national organizations? This is a year-around job. Will you build fires that no amount of inertia and apathy can put out?

Secondly, the Constitution of UNESCO dedicates its members to this goal: that peoples shall speak to peoples across national boundaries. This is the first and the primary plank in the Constitution. Yet this plank is not immediately obvious to all people in the phrase "educational, scientific and cultural". This first and primary plank is the concept that makes UNESCO unique in world history. To many intellectual leaders this is a strange new concept in international relations. In carrying out this new concept, peoples must speak to peoples with the new instruments of the age in which they live. These instruments are chiefly the press, radio, and the motion picture.

Where are the leaders to be found who will exploit these instruments to the fullest, so that peoples may hear peoples and see peoples and understand peoples the fastest and the clearest way?

It is easy for such a group to look down on radio and the films. The very fact that they have "popular" appeal damns them in some eyes. To many educators, they still seem suitable only for serving up light entertainment. Further, they have a commercial taint.

I know all about that.

But I also know that people—hundreds of millions of them—listen to radio and see the films—hundreds of millions who do not read books, who never went to college. If UNESCO fails to reach these millions through the media that they use, how will they be reached? Above all, how will they be reached quickly?

Our great universities have been laggard in recognizing broadcasting and the films as instruments of education. To the older and most honored professors, in the older and most honored disciplines, the radio has not seemed respectable. In the University of Chicago it was ten years before many of the most distinguished professors would appear on the "University of Chicago Round Table" broadcasts.

There is great danger, then, that educators and intellectuals will not welcome or understand or encourage the use of the instruments of today to communicate with peoples. These educators and intellectuals are the groups most likely to control UNESCO policies. If these groups in control do not use the mass media on a vast scale, they will not live up to UNESCO's Constitution. This danger is greater in the viewpoint of other countries than in our own. Thus this Commission must take world leadership in this area.

How well you succeed in this leadership depends in part on whether you can avoid the third pit-

fall—let us call it the danger of log-rolling by vested interests. More than half of you have been nominated by a private organization. All of you have some special area of competence close to your heart. Thus your vision may be limited by loyalty to your own organization or to your special field. In fact, it is sure to be.

The round tables or sections that have been scheduled for your meetings here illustrate this point. Similarly, the organizational structure that has been proposed for UNESCO itself, with similar sections—natural science, education, fine arts, mass media, and the rest—may have an unfortunate *divisive* effect. In fact, they are sure to prove divisive. The idea now seems to be that these various sections will put their parts together to make a program.

My point is that UNESCO can't do *everything*, or a little bit of everything. Its leaders should work out a list of priorities, and instead of allocating a small part of the UNESCO budget to each of an infinite variety of activities, they should concentrate UNESCO funds and energies in the fields where UNESCO has the greatest chance of making its greatest impact—and soon. Log-rolling between vested interests is not conducive to this objective. The university administrators who are in this room will, I am sure, agree with me.

UNESCO has not been set up only to give us more specialized knowledge. Its job is to put knowledge to work all over the world, in the interests of the masses of the people of the world and in the cause of human welfare and peace.

Thus you should not create committees exclusively of experts. Let us encourage the educators to face up to the opportunities in broadcasting. Let us encourage the broadcasters to face up to their obligations in the field of adult education. Cross fertilization is the intellectual need of the hour.

Further, those of you who have been nominated by national organizations should bear in mind that you have been appointed as individuals to be members of this National Commission. There are hundreds of other organizations, though perhaps not so luminous, which are just as much concerned with UNESCO as your own: and you as individuals must represent them all. You have a responsibility to all the people and not merely to your organization. I hope this sense of general responsibility will be kept at a high pitch.

The peoples of the world long for peace. They wish to break down the bars that separate them and to strengthen the ties that bind them together as human beings. They wish to break down specialization, fragmentalization, departmentalization—the vested interest of the group or of the country operating against the interests of the many and the world. Your danger is that you as *individuals* will fail to recognize this in your activities as members of this body.

The quest of the peoples of the world is urgent. This Commission cannot sit back and wait for the kind of unity that may come after the irrational misuse of science has reduced the world to a uniform desolation.

The world cannot find unity by seeking agreements merely in the political and economic spheres. The Constitution of UNESCO clearly recognizes this. In conclusion, I shall remind you of a line from its preamble: "A peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

UNESCO has been formed to prosecute this search for intellectual and moral solidarity in the minds of men.

It is the mandate of this National Commission on International Educational, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation to inspire and to assist all people in this country to construct in their own minds, and in the minds of their neighbors, this intellectual and moral solidarity. Only in this way can this Commission help to build the true defenses of peace.

APPENDIX 7

UNESCO to Date

BY DR. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER[1]

The documents that have been laid before you, especially Document 51 Revised, tell much of the story of the work of the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO. Your consideration of the document here, which is for the purpose of advising the Department of State on the instructions to be given the United States Delegation to the General Conference, will be a further step in the process of turning a constitution into a living institution. I lay special stress on the relation of your work here to what the Preparatory Commission is doing, because it grows out of the very character of UNESCO itself. The Organization will grow and will fulfil its purposes only if it can command the thought and spirit and the skill, as well as the loyalties, of a tremendous number of people.

The Preparatory Commission of UNESCO has held four sessions since its establishment at the end of the London Conference last November. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, the Minister of Education of the United Kingdom, is President of the Commission. The first two sessions of the Commission were brief meetings to get the machinery going. The third, held last February, sketched out the general plans for preparing the proposed program, and appointed Dr. Julian Huxley, Executive Secretary, to take the place of Sir Alfred Zimmern who had to resign on account of illness.

The United States was represented in that session by Donald Stone who has made a distinguished contribution to the development of UNESCO from the time he began serving as Adviser to the United States Delegation at the London Conference. His contribution has been of great importance, not only because he has helped to keep the Preparatory Commission on an even keel in the matters of administrative and financial policy which is his own special field, but also because of his own inspired vision of the mission of UNESCO in this troubled world.

It was shortly after the February meeting of the Preparatory Commission that I was appointed United States Representative to succeed Grayson Kefauver in that post. All of you who have been following closely the development of UNESCO shared the sense of shock and sorrow and irreparable loss which we felt here in the Department at Dean Kefauver's death early in January. I need hardly speak to this group about his contribution to the creation of UNESCO. As one of the people who worked closely with Dean Kefauver in the Liaison Committee for International Education, and later in the State Department on this project, I know that the progress of the Preparatory Commission would have given him great satisfaction. I know, too, that the forming of the National Commission and the meeting here would have been a matter of greatest interest to him, because among the drafters of the Constitution he was one of those who had the greatest zeal about the role of the National Commission in UNESCO.

The fourth meeting of the Preparatory Commission was held in London from July 5 to 12, and that is where Document 51 had its first overall formulation. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission about a month ago, this document, in a considerably revised form, was gone over again and the material you have before you now incorporates the results of the discussion at that meeting.

In surveying the work of the Preparatory Commission, there are four points which deserve some elaboration. The first is the way in which the Commission itself has developed and carried on its work. The second is the increasing recognition of UNESCO by the United Nations as a valuable and important specialized agency. The third is the leadership which has been given in the field of educational relief and rehabilitation, and the fourth is, of course, the major work of preparing the proposed program.

[1] United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO. Text of a statement made at the first plenary session of the meeting of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, Sept. 23, 1946.

The Preparatory Commission of UNESCO represents an interesting new type of international agency, but I will save my analysis of that aspect of it for a treatise on international preparatory commissions which I hope to find time to write after the life of this Commission comes to an end.

The UNESCO Preparatory Commission, as you know, consists of one representative of each country. Many countries have been represented by their Ambassadors, Ministers, or Cultural-Relations Officers in London, and now in Paris. Several other countries, notably Mexico, France, Norway, Belgium, Greece, and Czechoslovakia, as well as the United Kingdom, have specially designated representatives. Very few of them, however, have been assigned to this work full time. Nevertheless, in spite of all the other claims on their time and attention, members of the Preparatory Commission have shown a vital interest in the planning for UNESCO and have put into it their best thought and experience.

The Commission is served by a staff which includes specialists in the various subject matter fields which the UNESCO program is expected to cover. This staff has done notable work in preparing material for the Commission and in putting into practical program form the ideas and suggestions discussed in the Commission and submitted by governments, private groups, and individuals from all over the world. Without such an expert staff working during this preparatory year, UNESCO would have lost a great deal of time.

As you must know from reading Document 51, the planning has not gone so far that the permanent UNESCO secretariat will have nothing to do, but it has gone far enough to clear the ground and give a tremendous impetus to the actual program. In some fields, projects which could be undertaken on a preparatory basis are already under way. For example, the mass media section is now beginning a study of the existing barriers to the free flow of ideas and information; the text of a draft convention on the international interchange of visual teaching aids is ready to be laid before the Conference; a symposium on fundamental education is being written, bringing together the experience and ideas of the great leaders of mass education of all parts of the world.

Both the secretariat and the Commission itself have had invaluable assistance from the advisory committees which met during May and June. A number of countries were able to send specialists to the committee meetings and those that could not send specialists were represented by their regular delegates who brought to bear their wisdom and experience as government officials in assessing the practicability and probable effectiveness of various ideas.

The United States representative has been especially well assisted by experts in various fields from the United States. These experts in turn have had the benefit of consultation with leaders in all of the fields. A number of you have taken part in consultation and committees called together by the Department to advise on parts of the UNESCO program, and some of you served as expert advisers to the United States representative over in London.

I have mentioned briefly the growing recognition by United Nations of the role of UNESCO among the specialized agencies. The most concrete step, of course, was the negotiation of the draft agreement between the United Nations and UNESCO. This began with a conference between a committee of the Economic and Social Council and a committee of the Preparatory Commission early in June. The agreement arrived at there has been approved so far by the Economic and Social Council and by the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO. It must still come before the General Assembly of the United Nations and the General Conference of UNESCO.

This agreement not only outlines the procedures through which UNESCO will operate in relation to the United Nations, but also expresses the basic recognition by the United Nations of UNESCO "as the specialized agency responsible for taking such action as may be approved under its basic instrument for the accomplishment of its purposes set forth therein." Since one of the basic principles set forth in the UNESCO constitution is to work for accomplishment of aims of the United Nations through education, science, and cultural cooperation, this recognition is especially significant.

One proposed activity for UNESCO which grows directly out of this relationship is the proposal for an inquiry into the methods used in the schools of all countries in education for international understanding. This project proceeds from the assumption that the Members of the United Nations, having accepted in the Charter certain far-reaching obligations to maintain peace and security, are thereby committed to pursue an

educational policy which will contribute to that end. The work of UNESCO will not be to lay down regulations which governments must follow—actually no organ or specialized agency of the United Nations can do that except insofar as the Security Council can exert compulsion under certain well-defined conditions. By study and comparison of methods and by proposing better means of accomplishing its purpose, UNESCO can contribute to realization of this essential aim of the United Nations.

The work that the Preparatory Commission is doing, and the broad program of UNESCO itself, must be carried on in a world which has been terribly crippled by the war, and the devastation and oppression which accompanied and preceded it. Walking in the streets of Warsaw and feeling not only the shock of destruction but also the horror of the hate and fury which wrought that destruction, I could not help wonder what UNESCO had to bring to people whose lives had been twisted and torn, through what must have seemed like never-ending years of struggle. But as I looked at the people themselves and the overwhelming evidence of their vitality and energy, I realized that UNESCO could be of tremendous service to them and to the people of other countries which had suffered as Poland did. To people who were cut off from all intellectual contacts for many years, the activities of UNESCO can bring replenishment and inspiration.

However, in order to get to the point where the program can be most effective, the educational systems of the devastated countries must be brought back to something approaching a normal functioning basis. The devastated countries have paid a tremendous price for the victory which preserved for all of us our most cherished values and ideals. Although the governments and people of these devastated countries are making heroic efforts to rebuild, and in fact to build better than before, they need and deserve the help of the countries which, though they paid, too, a price for victory, did not suffer as cruelly or as thoroughly.

UNESCO cannot itself become a relief organization but it can stimulate and to some extent guide the provision of relief. The Conference last November considered this matter so important that it authorized the Preparatory Commission to make special provision for the collection and dissemination of information about the educational needs of the devastated countries. A section of the secretariat and a technical subcommittee on the educational, scientific, and cultural needs of the devastated countries have been working on this problem and now there is considerable information about the most pressing needs of those countries. It must be admitted, however, that the amount of contributions so far obtained have been relatively small and limited in scope.

One of the most encouraging developments has been the setting up in the United States of the Commission on Educational Reconstruction which it is hoped will stimulate gifts of educational supplies for the devastated countries. Some contributions are being made from other non-devastated countries as well, notably Great Britain, Canada, and Denmark. During our meeting here, you will have an opportunity to give some thought to this problem, and I can assure you that whatever assistance you can give will have a most heartening effect on the countries where the need is desperate.

In discussing various aspects of the Commission's work, I have already touched on some of the points that are raised in the proposed program for UNESCO and since you have this document before you, I will not attempt to go into detail about it. The projects have been organized into seven subject matter fields, namely, Education, Media of Mass Communication, Cultural Institutions, Natural Sciences, Humanities, and Creative Arts.

In all fields of its program UNESCO will and must perform a great variety of useful services. By being of service to a great many different groups engaged in research, teaching, creative art, and mass communication, UNESCO will broaden enormously the areas of popular participation in its program and will gain the loyalties of ever-increasing numbers of individuals throughout the world. Some of these services can best be performed by other agencies than UNESCO but some special stimulus or suggestions, and in some cases some material support, may be needed to produce the desired activity. Other services can best be performed by an international intergovernmental agency and here UNESCO itself will come into action. It would be a mistake to be frightened by the multiplicity and variety of services suggested in Document 51, but it is important to insure that they are all examined thoroughly and tested for their value and necessity.

UNESCO would fall short of achieving its great purposes if it only engaged in service activities,

important and necessary as they are. The Organization must undertake some major projects in every field, and in many cases has to break new ground and do a pioneering job. Some of the most significant work of UNESCO will be highly controversial, and while it is expected that UNESCO will be able to bring the processes of reasoning to bear on all of its problems, and therefore prevent destructive conflict, we must also face the likelihood that there will be major controversies from time to time. However, if UNESCO should get into the habit of shunning controversy because of fear of unpleasantness and discomfort, there is not much hope that it can really help to shape the course of history.

In talking about the progress of UNESCO up to the present, I have inevitably talked about the directions in which it seems to be moving, and the directions in which in the opinion of at least one member of the Preparatory Commission, it should continue to move in the future. That is because essentially the role of the Preparatory Commission is to live, work, and move toward the future and because I feel that it is admirably fulfilling this purpose.

In closing, I think you would be interested to know that the representatives of other countries in the Preparatory Commission are keenly interested in the development and organization of this National Commission of the United States. They have frequently inquired about you and eagerly read the description of the National Commission contained in the Act of Congress which authorized the membership of the United States in UNESCO. The whole group will certainly value and appreciate the results of the best thinking you can do about problems which the Preparatory Commission itself has been struggling with for many months.

APPENDIX 8

How Can Our Government's Program Support UNESCO?

BY WILLIAM T. STONE[1]

I welcome the opportunity to participate in this opening session of the National Commission, and I am particularly glad to have this opportunity to speak very briefly about the purposes and the resources of the governmental program in the field which will be of some direct concern to you. It will be my responsibility, in part at least, to implement the pledge of Secretary Byrnes and Mr. Benton of full cooperation from the Department of State in the fulfilment of your purposes, and I am glad to be able to say that the resources which we have available at the present time are, I believe, more extensive and more closely related to the objectives which you are pursuing than we have had in the past. Mr. Charles Thomson and his efficient staff, which have done such noble service in arranging for this meeting and in serving you during these sessions, is serving as a part of the larger staff of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs which, as Mr. Benton has indicated, is still an infant in the Department of State. He is, perhaps, thirteen months old, but we of OIC, as such, are only about eight months old. Nonetheless, I think that we have during these last seven or eight months been able to make a start towards the objectives which you and we are seeking.

First, a word as to the purposes of our governmental program. The purposes of the Government are closely parallel to the purposes of UNESCO. Mr. Benton referred to the opening sentence of the Charter of UNESCO; the Government, and the Department of State through its new Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, is likewise basing its program on the fundamental premise that the issues of our time will be decided not by governments alone

[1] Director, Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, Department of State. Text of a statement made at the first plenary session of the meeting of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, Sept. 23, 1946.

but will be determined by what happens in the minds of men. The facilities and the resources of the Department are at your disposal.

Through the new OIC we are seeking to give foreign peoples a truthful picture of the people of the United States, the aims and objectives of America, and to promote mutual understanding between our people and those of other nations as the essential foundation for a durable peace. UNESCO seeks to achieve these same purposes on an international scale by developing mutual understanding and more effective cooperation among the peoples of all nations.

Our program here in the Department provides, I think, a useful and perhaps an indispensable channel for the achievement of the goals of UNESCO. At least in its initial period UNESCO must necessarily rely upon existing agencies, both governmental and private, to carry out many of the important activities which it recommends. We hope to be able to implement the UNESCO program for the exchange of students, professors, scientists, artists, and others. We look to UNESCO to facilitate and stimulate these changes on the part of individual governments and private organizations.

As another example, UNESCO, at least for the present, must rely largely on existing facilities in the field of radio whereby that medium can be used to help peoples to speak to peoples. At the request of the United Nations we have recently made available the resources of our own radio network for the broadcasting of the full proceedings of the meeting of the forthcoming Assembly which will meet shortly in New York.

OIC, as I have indicated, is a youthful part of the State Department. It was created, as most of you are aware, first by executive order of the President when certain continuing functions of the Office of War Information and the Office of Inter-American Affairs were transferred just over a year ago to the Department of State and combined with certain continuing functions of the Division of Cultural Cooperation which Mr. Cherrington and Mr. Thomson had played a part in initiating a number of years ago. The office itself was created within the Department last January.

Mr. Benton spent a good deal of his time during the six months between January and June in appearing before Congressional committees in behalf of this new activity in the Department of State. Congress during the past session not only approved the purposes, the aims, and the objectives of the Department in the field of information and cultural affairs, but authorized the appropriation of funds amounting to $19,000,000 for the conduct of these activities during the coming fiscal year. In addition, Congress likewise authorized continuation of a program of cultural cooperation in the Western Hemisphere, authorizing some $6,000,000 for cooperative projects including the exchange of students, professors, specialists, persons of all kinds; and other technical and scientific projects which have been initiated in the past through the Department of State or the Office of Inter-American Affairs.

The instruments of our Government program are, I think you will agree, essentially similar to the instrument which will be used by UNESCO. They fall roughly into two broad categories. First, there are the mass media of communications.

Within the Department of State and the new organization of OIC we have three divisions devoted to mass media. One, a division of press and publications which issues each day a wireless bulletin containing factual statements by the Secretary of State and the President, containing background information indispensable to our foreign missions abroad, to our Ambassadors, to our Embassies and Legations, and to our public-affairs officers who, in turn, make such material available to private and public groups in the countries in which they are serving.

Secondly, there is the program of international broadcasting by radio. The Department has taken over the facilities of all facilities set up during the war by the Office of War Information and is continuing a daily broadcasting schedule. The full facilities run around the clock and carry American information, commentaries, background material over some twenty-four languages to the peoples of the world.

The third of our mass media is motion pictures, an international motion picture division which provides not commercial films, not a producer of films by the Department of State, but does procure documentary motion pictures which are distributed abroad through the Embassies and Legations of the United States.

The second broad category includes the instruments of cultural interchange. These, in part, represent a continuation of the program begun in the Department of State as far back as 1938 and include a division concerned with the ex-

change of persons and a division which is responsible for the maintenance of American libraries and cultural institutes overseas. For the effective integration of programs conducted through these media, we have in the Department and in OIC a small staff of area specialists whose primary job is to relate the press, radio, motion picture and cultural programs to the needs of different areas and different regions of the world. In the field, where the important part of this program is carried out, we are maintaining at the present time a small staff of public-affairs officers assisted by cultural officers or cultural attachés and information officers or information attachés in each of our sixty Embassies and Legations. In London, for example, at the present time Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University is serving as the Public-Affairs Officer to the Embassy. Professor Nevins has a small staff, a cultural assistant who works with him on the kinds of programs with which you will be concerned, and an information assistant and a small staff on that side working in the field of press, wireless bulletin, radio, and the motion picture program.

There are, I should indicate, certain limitations in the program of the Department and of the Government in the field of information and cultural exchanges. During the past session of Congress it was hoped that passage would be secured for the so-called "Bloom Bill" authorizing an extension of some of the cultural activities which had been limited by legislation in the past to the Western Hemisphere. In the last-minute legislative jam the Bloom Bill did not go through, and we are, therefore, limited at the present time in the funds and the resources which we have at our disposal, particularly as they relate to the exchange of persons and the extension of certain aspects of the cultural program. It is our hope that early in the next session, or if Congress reconvenes prior to the first of the year, that this essential enabling legislation will be passed and that we will not be faced with the limitations in our program which now prevail outside of the Western Hemisphere.

Another word of caution, perhaps, should be mentioned with respect to the Fulbright Bill. There are indications from some of the organizations which are particularly interested in the exchange of students and professors that funds will be immediately available from the Fulbright Bill whereby we can begin to operate on that program during the next few months. I won't at this stage take time to explain the implications and the complications of carrying out the Fulbright Bill beyond saying to you that certain preliminary steps, such as the negotiation of specific agreements relating to the use of surplus funds, must be consummated prior to the coming into effect of the program. Likewise, certain preliminary steps must be taken with the appointment of a national board of advisers to carry out the exchange program contemplated under the Fulbright Bill. But by and large what one can say, I think, is that the Department at the present time is better equipped, is better staffed to assist this Commission and to assist UNESCO in the purposes which it will seek to accomplish during the years immediately ahead.

You may say that our program is a national program. It is a national program and as such it is an essential part of the conduct of American foreign policy. It is likewise an integral part of the machinery of the Department of State and an essential part of the machinery of our foreign service. It is designed, however, to supplement objectives and aims which are essentially the aims and objectives which the National Commission and which UNESCO itself has been established to create, and we are emphasizing in all of our work with Mr. Benton those objectives as strongly as we can.

In conclusion, I should like to refer briefly to a statement which President Roosevelt in his Jefferson Day Address, which was written the night before he died, stated as clearly as I have seen it stated the purposes, the basic purposes, of UNESCO and of the Department in this field. President Roosevelt wrote: "Science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close that it is impossible to isolate them one from another. Today we are faced with a pre-eminent fact that if civilization is to survive we must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together and to work together in the same world at peace."

APPENDIX 9

Resolution Adopted by U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

WHEREAS, consistent with the resolutions unanimously adopted by the UNESCO Preparatory Commission on July 12, 1946, and in view of reports at this conference, at the meetings of the Preparatory Commission, and by UNRRA and the American press concerning the deplorable lack of facilities for the education of youth and adults in the war devastated countries; the destruction of school buildings, libraries, museums and laboratories; the extreme shortage of books and other basic educational supplies and materials; and the urgent need of technical and professional assistance and counsel from the United States; and

Recognizing the vital importance to the future peace of the world of rehabilitating not only the bodies but also the minds and spirits of those who have been subjected to the horrors of war and to the miseducation imposed by ruthless conquerors,

BE IT RESOLVED that the National Commission for Educational, Cultural and Scientific Cooperation go on record as urging UNESCO to place a high priority during 1947 upon projects for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of education in those countries devastated by war, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Commission urge American agencies concerned with education to give serious consideration to ways and means whereby each may cooperate with the Commission for International Educational Reconstruction in the rebuilding of educational facilities in the war-torn lands to the end that educational opportunity may be made available to all people as the right of each individual and the basis for international understanding and world peace.

APPENDIX 10

Report of the Executive Committee of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO[1]

The Committee held three meetings and reports the following action:

1. The Executive Committee considered dates for the next meetings of the Committee and of the National Commission as well as of national and regional conferences.

In the light of the urgent importance of channeling back the recommendations of the Paris Conference as promptly as possible to the Commission and to all interested organizations in the United States, it was agreed that the following schedule be undertaken:

(*a*) there should be a meeting of the Executive Committee in Washington as soon as possible after the return of the United States delegation from the General Conference of UNESCO in Paris;

(*b*) there should be a meeting of the National Commission in Washington early in the year to be followed immediately by a large national conference to be held in Washington, these meetings to be called as soon as the resources of the Secretariat can assure effective organization;

(*c*) the large double meeting of the National Commission and the national conference should be followed by a series of regional conferences.

The Executive Committee approved the appointment of a subcommittee of three to work with the Secretariat on the organization and agenda of the large national conference and of the regional conferences.

[1] Text of report presented at the final plenary session of the National Commission for UNESCO.

2. In accordance with Section 12 (*a*) of the bylaws, the Executive Committee agreed to request the Department of State to provide the Secretariat of the National Commission, whose chief officer shall serve as Executive Secretary of the National Commission and of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee appointed a subcommittee of two members to confer with the Department of State concerning personnel, organization, and operation of the Secretariat, Mr. Cherrington to serve as chairman of the subcommittee and the second member to be appointed at a later date.

3. In order to facilitate a continuing and effective flow of information on UNESCO developments to the members of the National Commission, to interested organizations and to the general public, the Executive Committee hereby recommends the establishment by the National Commission of a committee on information to aid and advise the Secretariat with regard to an information program.

4. To carry out the provision of Section 7 (*c*) of the bylaws the Executive Committee approved the appointment of a subcommittee to prepare rules of procedure for the Executive Committee. This subcommittee was instructed to report at the next meeting of the Executive Committee on recommendations on rules of procedure which could be submitted for the approval of the National Commission. The subcommittee was instructed to consider possible amendments to the bylaws, and in particular the existing provision on nominations. Messrs. Justin Miller and Luther Evans were appointed as members of the committee with Mr. Miller as Chairman.

5. The Executive Committee, recognizing that it was not desirable at this time to establish a permanent committee structure, but that temporary committees might perform a useful function, hereby recommends that the National Commission authorize the Executive Committee to create such interim committees as may be needed in addition to the Committee on Information already mentioned, to serve until the next annual meeting of the Commission.

The Executive Committee delegated to a subcommittee composed of the Chairman and three Vice-Chairmen the authority to create, appoint and instruct the interim committees above mentioned and also authorized this subcommittee to call special conferences of experts if needed.

6. Recognizing the importance of the early distribution of full reports concerning the first meeting of the National Commission and of subsequent meetings and conferences, the Executive Committee authorized the establishment of a subcommittee of three on reports with full power to act for the Executive Committee in the supervision of the preparation of such reports. The Executive Secretary was authorized to proceed with the preparation of reports of the first meeting of the National Commission until the assistance of the subcommittee was made available.

7. The Commission reviewed the lists of organizations concerning which communications had been addressed to the Department of State and also a list proposed to the Commission by members of the Commission. After lengthy discussion which brought out the number and complexity of factors involved, the Committee came to the conclusion that it would be undesirable to come to a hasty decision at this time. Consequently the Executive Committee voted to appoint a subcommittee of three to study the names of candidate organizations and analyze the factors involved in selection, and to recommend concerning the method of choice to be employed by the Commission. The subcommittee was also directed to consider the development of procedures to carry out annually the review and possible revision of the list of national voluntary organizations required by Section 4 of the bylaws. The subcommittee was instructed to report its findings to the Executive Committee for its consideration and the preparation of recommendations to the National Commission at its next meeting.

8. The Executive Committee discussed with Assistant Secretary of State William Benton various considerations relating to the selection of the United States Delegation to the General Conference of UNESCO. The Committee recognizing the limitations of time at the present meeting recommends that the National Commission discuss the composition of the United States Delegation in terms of general qualifications and without reference to individuals, in order that the Executive Committee may convey recommendations to the Secretary of State or his nominees respecting the delegation to the General Conference of UNESCO.

APPENDIX 11

Report of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

September 27, 1946.

The Honorable
James F. Byrnes,
Secretary of State.

Sir:

I am honored to transmit to you the final report of the United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. This report was adopted unanimously by the members of the National Commission at the end of the session terminating its four-day meeting in Washington, September 23 through September 26.

This report highlights the most important recommendations of the National Commission to the United States Government, for advocacy by the United States Delegation at the forthcoming General Conferences of UNESCO in Paris in November. In addition to this general summary, there are many other proposals of vital importance which were adopted by the Commission growing out of the specialized studies by its round tables on education, natural sciences, social services, creative arts, cultural institutions, humanities, and mass communications.

I think you will agree that the National Commission recommendations are bold and constructive. It is the opinion of the National Commission, according to its report, that "the responsibility of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in the present crisis is so great and so pressing that the Organization should not hesitate to employ any proper means, however novel or however costly, which give promise of success. The Organization is itself a new agency, daring in purpose and novel in structure. The means it employs should be appropriate to its nature. It must serve as the cutting edge for international action."

The Commission received with appreciation your message urging UNESCO to help clear away the barriers of suspicion and mistrust which divide peoples. The Commission called upon President Truman who told them that the Commission could make the "greatest contribution in the history of the world to the welfare of the world as a whole, if it really goes at it in the spirit that is intended". He told the delegates he thought they were on the road to doing the job.

In my opening address to the Commission, I warned the members that their actions would be closely followed and often severely criticized, and that many demands would be made upon their time and energy. I dedicated the Commission to hard work.

I have attended many conferences, but I have never seen as sincere and hard working a group as this Commission proved to be this week. Many diverse viewpoints were represented, yet out of this diversity grew surprising unity. The Commission gives every promise of becoming, as you and I had hoped, the collective brain to the whole nervous system of American culture, science, education and means of communication.

In addition to the obligation imposed by Congress on the Commission, to advise the United States Government on its participation in UNESCO, there is a second role for its members of which they were deeply conscious. This is to act as liaison with the thousands of organizations in this country, and their millions of individual members, in carrying out the UNESCO program within the United States. Many of the members present and organizations represented are already proceeding energetically to fulfill this responsibility. For example, the General Federation of Women's Clubs proposes to devote the entire November issue of its magazine, which goes to three and a half million members, to the meeting of this National Commission and to the opportunities for achieving peace through understanding, for which UNESCO was created.

If UNESCO is to be in fact "the spearhead of the United Nations", as the Ambassador from

France told the members of the Commission at its dinner, then this grass-roots activity, sponsored and promoted by the 100 members authorized for the National Commission, will help the American people achieve an understanding of the aims of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and the aims of American foreign policy.

You will be surprised, perhaps, as were the members of the Commission, at the statement by one of the members that a new Gallup Poll showed that more than 30 percent of the people of the United States do not know that the United States is a member of the United Nations. This illustrates both the domestic need for the National Commission and its opportunity.

Perhaps of greatest interest to the so-called practical men of the world, as well as to their political leaders, will be the attitude unanimously expressed by this group towards the proposed UNESCO budget. The Commission stated that even if the program were to cost a billion dollars or more annually, it would be "cheap insurance" against another war. I may say that no such budget was contemplated because the Commission is fully aware that it is impossible to develop a sufficient number of hard-headed projects, with sound administration and with reasonable hope of success, to warrant any such sum in the near future. However, General Sarnoff estimated for one of the round tables that it would cost $250,000,000 to develop the world-wide communications system required by the United Nations, capable of laying down a strong and consistent radio signal, in all major areas of the world, comparable to the signal now received from a local radio station. General Sarnoff says that such a world system is today technically feasible. Such a world-wide radio network is one of the proposals unanimously endorsed by the National Commission.

The Commission elected the following as its officers:

CHAIRMAN:
Milton Eisenhower, President,
Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science,
Manhattan, Kansas.

VICE CHAIRMEN:
Edward W. Barrett,
Editorial Director, *Newsweek*,
New York, New York.
Arthur H. Compton, Chancellor,
Washington University,
St. Louis, Missouri.
Waldo G. Leland, President Emeritus,
American Council of Learned Societies,
Washington, D.C.

Outstanding in leadership and energy among the members present in Washington this week was Mr. Archibald MacLeish, who acted as Chairman of the Committee which drafted the attached report. Mr. MacLeish's long interest in UNESCO, and his contributions to the UNESCO Constitution when he acted as Chairman of the American Delegation in London last fall, are well known to you.

I may say that no experience I have had in my thirteen months in the State Department has moved me more deeply than the meeting this week of this new and unique organ created by Congress to advise the Department. As your representative at these meetings, I have been deeply stirred by the passionate desire of these distinguished private citizens to devote themselves to the same cause to which you are devoting yourself in Paris—the dispelling of the ignorance, mistrust and misunderstanding which is prevalent throughout the world today—and the substitution in their place of that moral and intellectual solidarity of mankind which is the goal of the UNESCO constitution.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM BENTON
Assistant Secretary

REPORT OF THE

UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

To the Secretary of State

The United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, organized by you in accordance with Section 3 of House Joint Resolution 305 of the 79th Congress (Public Law 565, 79th Congress, Chapter 700, 2d Session), met in Washington from September 23 to September 26, 1946, to advise the Government of the United States and the United States Delegation to the first General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on matters relating to the Organization, and specifically on the position to be taken in the Organization by the United States Delegation.

The purpose of the Organization, as stated in its Constitution, is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture. The Organization is not conceived of, in other words, as an international undertaking to promote education and science and culture as ends in themselves, but rather, through education and science and culture, to advance the peace of the world.

In the opinion of the National Commission, the position to be taken by the American Delegation in the General Conference of the Organization should be determined by this purpose. The American Delegation should support those proposals for action by the Organization which give promise of advancing directly and significantly the cause of peace through understanding. The necessity of this labor grows clearer from day to day as the effects of misunderstanding and distrust and fear upon the conduct of international relations become increasingly evident. The recognition of the fundamental community of human interests which made possible the great collaborative effort of the war has diminished with time and change, and the possibility of common effort for peace and for security has diminished with it. To restore and make increasingly articulate the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind—to identify and analyze existing obstacles to that solidarity and to develop action which will strengthen or create forces to overcome them—is the most immediate and the most urgent need of our time.

In the opinion of the National Commission, the responsibility of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in the present crisis is so great and so pressing that the Organization should not hesitate to employ any proper means, however novel or however costly, which give promise of success. The Organization is itself a new agency, daring in purpose and novel in structure. The means it employs should be appropriate to its nature. It must serve as the cutting edge for international action. If annual military expenditures of thirteen billion dollars for the defense of the people of the United States against attack are justified, ten percent of that amount, and far more than ten percent, might well and wisely be expended to remove or greatly to reduce the danger of attack. It would be cheap insurance. In the first place, it is the consensus of military opinion that no adequate military defense against the weapons of modern warfare exists. In the second place, even if such measures were available, their cost in terms of life and suffering are so inestimably great that any action which would diminish the necessity for their use would be economical.

The budget of UNESCO cannot now be estimated. The National Commission believes, however, that a budget in the amount of a billion or a billion and a half dollars or even more might well be justified, if practicable and useful projects requiring such expenditures presented themselves. The National Commission pledges itself to support the Organization to the limits of its power so far as the contribution of the United States to the budget of UNESCO is concerned.

But though the American Delegation should be prepared to think and to act boldly and imaginatively in the General Conference of UNESCO, it should never forget, in the opinion of this Commission, that it represents a people deeply and firmly committed to certain fundamental propositions bearing upon the nature and destiny of man. It should hold unwaveringly to the absolute require-

ment of freedom of thought and freedom of expression as the basic means of arriving at the world understanding which is the immediate as well as the ultimate objective of the Organization's labors.

The Commission has considered a large number of proposals for action by the new Organization as developed by a Preparatory Commission established in London by the Conference of the United Nations which drafted the Constitution of the new Organization in November, 1945. These proposals will be reviewed at the meeting of the General Conference of UNESCO. Accordingly, the National Commission has considered the report of the Preparatory Commission as a point of departure and has not hesitated to develop and to advance additional or different ideas of its own. The present report of the Commission does not undertake to list in full the recommendations adopted by the National Commission in the various fields of UNESCO's activity. Many of these, specific and detailed in character, are submitted to you in a document supplemental to this report for such use as you may think wise to make of them. The Commission believes that these recommendations should be supported by the American Delegation in so far as they are not inconsistent with the general principles laid down in this report. The recommendations here listed are the recommendations to which the Commission attaches greatest over-all and present importance. They are, moreover, recommendations which, in the opinion of the Commission, best illustrate the character of the work UNESCO should undertake.

We have arranged our proposals in terms of the functions of the Organization as defined in the first Article of its Constitution. Fundamentally, the concern of the Organization is with the relations of men to each other. It approaches these relations in terms of three kinds of international collaboration. First, international collaboration for the *preservation* of men's knowledge of themselves, their world and each other; second, international collaboration for the *increase* of that knowledge through learning, science and the arts; third, international collaboration for the *dissemination* of that knowledge through education and through all the instruments of communication between the peoples of the earth in order that understanding may replace mistrust and suspicion and the fear which leads to war.

In the opinion of the Commission, the order of present urgency puts the third of these functions first. The Commission, therefore, recommends at this time only a limited number of projects in connection with the first and second activities of the Organization.

(1) *International Collaboration for the Preservation of Men's Knowledge of Themselves, Their World and Each Other.*

Here the Commission recommends that the American Delegation advance and support proposals for action looking toward the rehabilitation of libraries, museums, scientific laboratories and educational institutions and other depositories of the materials and tools of art and learning. The Commission does not feel that it is appropriate for the Organization under its Constitution to attempt the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation itself. The Organization is, however, the only body which can properly direct a general study of needs and draft a plan of action.

(2) *International Collaboration for the Increase of Men's Knowledge of Themselves, Their World and Each Other Through Learning, Science and the Arts.*

Here the Commission feels that the American Delegation should advance and support proposals looking toward the development of conditions more favorable to the creative and investigative work of artists, scientists and scholars. Where agencies capable of improving these conditions in whole or in part already exist, the Organization should give its active support and encouragement to their undertakings and should attempt to facilitate their cooperation with each other. Furthermore, the Organization should encourage the establishment of new agencies of this character where they are needed but do not already exist.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals for studies by the Organization of social and international tensions which create obstacles to international understanding and therefore to peace, and for action by the Organization to encourage the development of appropriate means for their elimination.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals for the establishment of new scientific and scholarly projects for research in fields in which work can most effectively be undertaken on an international basis, as, for instance,

research in meteorology, oceanography, international health, and the study of epidemic diseases.

(3) *International Collaboration for the Dissemination of Men's Knowledge of Themselves, Their World and Each Other Through Education and Through All the Instruments of Communication.*

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals for the establishment or the reestablishment of the means of international communication through education and through all other media where they are needed and where they are at present lacking.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals for the establishment by the Organization, alone or in connection with the United Nations, of a world-wide radio network capable of laying down a strong and consistent signal in all major areas of the world.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals for the removal of obstacles to the free flow of information in accordance with the report of the Committee of Consultants to the Department of State on Mass Media and UNESCO. The Commission differs, however, with the Committee of Consultants in believing that the Organization should concern itself with the quality of international communication through the mass media and should give serious study to the means by which the mass media may be of more positive and creative service to the cause of international understanding and therefore of peace. The Organization should, of course, avoid at all times any act or suggestion of censorship.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals for action to free the channels of international communication of obstacles created by discriminatory or unduly restrictive copyright legislation, discriminatory or unfair rates, or other similar practices or laws.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals that the Organization concern itself with the press, radio and motion pictures, and all other means of publication, reproduction and dissemination of materials, as instruments at the service of art, education, culture and scientific advancement in the labor of international understanding, and with the protection of the peoples of the world against any misuse of these media such as might result in their degradation and perversion to the point of fostering international ill-will and misunderstanding.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals for the investigation by the Organization of methods of education for international understanding and for the development of attitudes conducive to peace. Such investigations should direct themselves to the processes by which nations organize and give practice, within their own boundaries, to their people in the arts of peaceful cooperation. They should be more than mere fact-finding investigations. They should be sociological studies of great scope and depth.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals that the Organization call a conference in the year 1947 on the principles, policies and procedures to be followed in the preparation of textbooks and other teaching materials. This Conference should include in its membership classroom teachers from all educational levels, school administrators, writers, publishers, and other experts in the production and use of instructional materials.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals for the exchange of students, teachers, scholars, artists, artisans, scientists, government officials, and others, active in the various fields of the Organization's work.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals looking to the increase and improvement of the access of the masses of the people throughout the world to printed and other materials of intellectual, informational and cultural significance. The Commission believes that the American Delegation should advance and support proposals for the development by the Organization of an effective system of international inter-library loan, in original or copy, together with the development of necessary international finding lists, and arrangements to avoid duplication in abstracting and bibliographical services.

The American Delegation should advance and support proposals for the encouragement of the establishment of popular library and museum systems in those areas of the world where such systems do not now exist.